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The Case Against the 'War on Poverty

Next to Viet Nam and inflation, according to public opinion polls, the "War on Poverty" is the single subject of greatest concern to the American people. Rarely if ever has a federal program been the target of so many reports of scandal and failure as this one.

On the pages that follow, some of the highlights of these reports are catalogued. They cover an astonishing and shocking tale of political manipulation, waste, mismanagement, graft and irresponsible attacks on the political, economic and social order of the United States—all financed by the American taxpayers, who are rapidly becoming impoverished themselves by the squandering of their money for this and other "Great Society" programs.

Attacks on poverty are as old as history itself, though perhaps never before has so much money and effort been spent to produce fewer tangible achievements. Like the "bread and circuses" anti-poverty campaigns of the Roman Empire, today's "Great Society" program has sliced the loaf of actual benefits pretty thin.

In many respects, the Johnson Administration's "War on Poverty" is a direct descendant of most of the Socialist welfare nostrums of the past century. Its immediate ancestors are the preachments and programs of Huey Long, Dr. Francis Townsend and FDR's New Deal.

The irony is that these earlier attacks on poverty sprang from the depths of a great depression, when unquestioned poverty existed on an enormous scale and it was easy to justify the view that government had a responsibility to lead the attack.

Today's programs and proposals spring from conditions of unparalleled affluence. And yet, bureaucrats today are giving serious consideration to even the dreamiest notions of anti-poverty warriors of a generation ago who were regarded as crackpots in their time.

With a few exceptions, the major programs of today's "War on Poverty" are slightly warmed-over projects which were tried and found want '30s.

- The Job Corps is little more than a sp if considerably more expensive, versi Civilian Conservation Corps.
- The Neighborhood Youth Corps bears a close resemblance to the National Youth Administration.
- The rural loans program is a thinly disguised revival of the Bankhead-Jones Act project of 1937.
- The small business loans and work experience programs are merely additions to programs already in existence when the "War on Poverty" was officially launched.

In fact, at the time of its launching, a private research group revealed that there were already more than 180 federal programs in existence to help the poor. Hence the "War on Poverty" is hardly more than an expensive wing added to an already top-heavy, jerry-built structure.

Nevertheless, it is still growing. Started only two years ago with a $900-million budget, the "War on Poverty's" annual cost has escalated to twice that amount, and will no doubt continue to rise.

Sargent Shriver recently said he'd need a minimum of $30 to $40 billion for the program over the next decade. An additional sign of things to come was the announcement a few months ago by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that 100,000 ad-

Continued on page 2

SPECIAL ISSUE—With the exception of the news round-up that appears below, this week's issue of **Human Events** is devoted completely to a thorough report on the "War on Poverty"—the "Great Society's" scandal-ridden program that since 1964 has used up $2.3 billion of the taxpayers' money and is now looking for $1.75 billion more for fiscal 1967 alone. We are devoting this much space to a single subject because, as the introduction points out, every poll has shown the "War on Poverty" to be—next to Viet Nam and inflation—the most controversial issue of this year's congressional elections. This week's issue —with a revised front page, eliminating the news round-up and expanding the introduction—is available in reprint form for wide distribution. See the back page for further information.

This Week's News from Inside Washington

HCUA

• The House Committee on Un-American Activities, kept in constant turmoil by radical witnesses and a court order (later rescinded) to halt its hearings, delved into the activities last week of groups which were aiding the Viet Cong. Both friendly and hostile witnesses revealed how domestic leftists raised money, blood and even recruits for the Communists in Viet Nam. One of the witnesses, Richard M. Rhoads of Brooklyn, N.Y., readily admitted his allegiance to communism. "I certainly am" a Communist, he shouted at one point. Another "peacenik," Walter D. Teague III, wore a Viet Cong flag as a lapel pin.

A number of spectators had to be removed from the hearing room after rising to shout anti-American slogans, but the real fun began on Wednesday when the ejection of an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) lawyer provided the domestic left with a rallying point for their campaign against the committee and the war in Viet Nam.

It all started when Arthur Kinoy offered objection to testimony regarding his client Teague. Kinoy was joined by several other lawyers, but his objections were finally overruled by Rep. Joe Pool (D.-Tex.), who presided over the hearings. When Pool asked Kinoy to be seated, the attorney then entered into a heated argument with Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio). Pool then shook a finger at the diminutive lawyer, and snapped: "Now go over there and sit down." When Kinoy persisted in argument, Pool ordered the marshalls to remove him from the hearing room, but Kinoy resisted and finally had to be forcibly ejected.

Following Kinoy's removal, other attorneys announced their decision to withdraw from the hearings in what some observers felt was a planned tactic of the defense. For by leaving their clients without legal counsel, the lawyers had created a possible roadblock to further hearings, since witnesses before HCUA are permitted legal counsel of their own choosing.

A number of observers questioned the spontaneity of the lawyers' exodus. One reporter claims to have overheard plans for the "walkout" just prior to the Kinoy affair. Rep. Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.) noted that a defendant, Dr. Allen Krebs, director of New York's Free University (now called Free School), distributed a statement to the press just prior to the Kinoy incident in which he had announced a plan to take a walk from the hearings.

Kinoy, a middle-aged Rutgers University professor, who once represented Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, has a long record of legal association with organizations which have been cited as Communist-controlled in congressional inquiries.

• A star witness for the HCUA was Phillip Abbott Luce, who was once connected with the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Movement and has since been a frequent contributor to *Human Events* (see *Human Events*, July 9 and August 20). Luce, who told of the Communist infiltration of the New Left, was greeted with jeers and hisses by the radicals in the hearing room. One member in the audience shouted "Kill him!" when Luce took the stand. Luce was protected at the hearings by two bodyguards.

• And who should turn up at an anti-HCUA, anti-Viet Nam rally held at DuPont Circle in Washington on August 16? Michael Tigar. Tigar, a graduate of Boalt Law School in Berkeley, Calif., was slated for a position with Chief Justice Brennan until Brennan learned of his radical activities through *Human Events* and other conservative periodicals. His appearance at the rally, which featured speakers from the Progressive Labor party and the May 2nd Movement, discredited reports in the Washington *Post* and other liberal dailies that Tigar has moderated his views. In his brief address Tigar bitterly attacked both HCUA and defended the anti-Viet Nam protestors.

• The self-styled "Rt. Rev. Bishop" Michael Itkin, who represented the *Christian Free Press*, followed some of the demonstrators out of the hearing room shouting "We Shall Overcome." He too was arrested and told police, "I excommunicate you all." Itkin claimed to be an Anglican priest.

Au Contraire, NR....

• For the second time in recent issues, *National Review's* editors have chastized *Human Events* for spreading the supposed fairy tale that F. Clifton White, master strategist for Goldwater's preconvention campaign, is working for Gov. George Romney's presidential aspirations in 1968. *NR*, which refused even the courtesy of contacting us about our story, charges us with spreading a "rumor," as if we had picked up the information at a local bar.

Human Events concedes we have seen no written contract between Romney and F. Clifton White Associates (White's public relations outfit), and after permitting two weeks to go by, White finally denied the story in a carefully worded telegram which did not in any way rule out his working for Romney in the future. But, for the benefit of *NR*, we based our story on information conveyed to us by both White's employes and social acquaintances. White, they say, has sounded out a number of persons as to whether they think conservative Republicans could accept Romney as the GOP presidential nominee.

Rita Bree, White's secretary, has lent the clear impression to more than one observer that White is in the Romney camp. One source close to both *Human Events* and White recently attended a small dinner party given by White and came away absolutely convinced that White was working for the Michigan governor's 1968 presidential bid. A senior contributor to *NR*, who writes under the pen name of "Quincy," has also said he learned from reliable sources that White definitely wants to work for Romney. And this represents only a smattering of the evidence upon which we chose to write our story.

Human Events does not fault White, whose business is political P.R., for trying to come up with a winning candidate for the GOP—even though we think Romney's the wrong person. And, we concede, it is possible that our informants misunderstand White's seemingly surreptitious links with Romney. Yet we can't help wondering why White and/or his office have conveyed the impression to our informants—who are friendly to White—that he favors Romney rather than Nixon, or, say, Reagan. Whatever the explanation—and we're sure *NR* will find one—we do not want our readers to think we based our information on "rumor."

Hiring Felons

• While the FBI continues to reveal that the crime rate is soaring, Civil Service Commission chairman John W. Macy Jr. has announced a policy that will make it easier for the federal government to hire habitual criminals.

Macy announced last week that in response to LBJ's message on crime, the federal government has decided to take a chance on "good risk" former criminal offenders and put them on the payroll.

The "rehabilitation" of criminals is undoubtedly a good thing, but sandwiched in Macy's announcement was the statement that arrest-record questions will be eliminated from federal employment applications which in the future will require listing of only certain convictions. U.S. agencies will be permitted to employ parolees and probationers without prior approval of the Civil Service commissioner.

Until now, job seekers were asked if they had ever been arrested, taken into custody, held for investigation or questioning or charged by any law enforcement authority. They were permitted to omit traffic violations.

Now, however, they will be asked only if they have been convicted of an offense, have forfeited collateral or are under charges at the time of applying for the job, and will not necessarily be blocked by affirmative answers to these questions. They may also omit offenses committed before their 21st birthday.

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(Continued from front page)

ditional social workers would be required in the next five years to administer federal welfare programs.

One might think that if the "War on Poverty" and other government welfare programs were making any headway at all, their budgets and bureaucracies would grow smaller. But this, obviously, is not what is happening.

Some time ago, syndicated columnist Donald I. Rogers noted an ironic situation.

In 1962, he pointed out, federal, state and local governments spent some $44 billion on welfare programs of all kinds. At the same time, according to official estimates, fewer than 10 million American families were classified as poor with family incomes of $3,000 or less a year.

If all of the government welfare funds had been spent to help these people, each would have benefited to the tune of $4,400 or more in that year and not a single one of the families could have qualified as poverty stricken under the income guidelines.

Direct relief to the poor, however, barely exceeded $600 per family that year. Obviously, much of the money went astray—to people not genuinely poor or to the costly bureaucracy that administers these programs.

"It seems to boil down to the fact," said Rogers, "that Americans willingly are paying to abolish poverty, but the money is not being used for that purpose. That's why the Administration is asking for more."

It is highly questionable whether government can effectively combat poverty, much less abolish it. For with every increase in government spending, the real value of the people's money is lowered through inflation. And of all people, the poor—on low or fixed incomes—are harmed more than anyone else by inflation, which also, of course, cuts into the purchasing power of welfare benefits (such as Social Security) which many of them are already receiving.

Even if all of the money to finance the "War on Poverty" came exclusively from taxes on the rich, the poor would be the ultimate losers. For penalizing the most productive members of society in the end results in a deceleration or actual decline in the nation's economic growth, the worst effects of which are felt by those at the bottom of the economic scale.

At their best, then, most welfare programs involve the spending of capital which could be used far more effectively elsewhere. At their worst, they amount to a dole which destroys the incentive to work and produce, the only real way for large numbers of people to rise permanently above the level of poverty.

One of the most persistent alibis used to justify federal spending of all sorts is the old saw about state and local governments—as well as the "private sector"—failing to meet the needs of the people. Washington, so the saying goes, doesn't really want to do all these things, but it simply has to because they just aren't being done by anyone else.

In their book *Pass the Poverty, Please*, Patty Newman and Joyce Wenger point out that a $3-million anti-poverty project in Los Angeles to set up 100 "Teenposts" or youth clubs was agreed to after constant hammering away on the theme that the city's teen-agers were bored and idle with nothing to do and no place provided for them to go.

A little investigation, however, turned up the fact that the city's Department of Recreation provided at the local taxpayers' expense literally hundreds of free programs and free facilities for teen-agers. A mere listing of these programs and facilities, according to the authors, required a sheet of shelf paper 50 feet long, and yet it did not include many hundreds more provided by the city's schools, churches, YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and many other organizations.

Obviously, if teen-agers in Los Angeles were bored and idle with nothing to do, it wasn't the city's fault, and the creation of 100 "Teenposts" financed by Washington won't solve the problem.

The question, in Los Angeles and elsewhere, is not whether local governments and the "private sector" have invited Washington to step in by failing to do enough; it is, rather, how much longer will they continue to do as much as they have been doing, with federal bureaucrats so anxious to take over the job.

The same, of course, can be said of the role played by the foundations and other private charitable organizations. With government agencies increasingly moving in to take over the traditional functions of providing the needy with assistance, many such groups are literally threatened with extinction. Certainly they are unequipped to compete with tax-supported welfare agencies with their almost unlimited budgets and staffs.

"One of the most onerous by-products of state welfarism and the ideology that nourishes it," charged Timothy J. Wheeler in *The Freeman*, "is the stultification of our impulse toward charity. Not only does the state seize our means to be charitable, it steals our will to be charitable. In short, the state takes a decent human instinct and converts it into the dole."

Probably the most effective existing and potential program for combatting poverty in America, however, is the constant campaign being waged without slogans and fanfare, and without an army of bureaucrats, by the businessmen of the nation.

The most direct and obvious facets of this quiet "War on Poverty" are the enormous contributions of both money and time by America's businessmen to civic, cultural and educational institutions and projects. Last year, according to George Champion, chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank, America's corporations spent an estimated $4.5 billion on their educational efforts alone.

Dozens of business enterprises have devoted considerable time and money to other areas of civic need and improvement. One example: a large urban renewal program financed by the U.S. Gypsum Co. to renovate slum buildings in Harlem at less than half the cost per dwelling unit of public housing in New York.

Less apparent to many people, but unquestionably more effective in the long run, is the war against poverty and unemployment which is a necessary and inevitable result of the natural inclination of private businesses to expand and invest in the future. The only truly effective long-range assault on poverty is the continued growth of the nation's economy. And the best way to guarantee prosperity is through the encouragement of private enterprise to create jobs and real wealth through profits, investment and expansion.

All too often, government does precisely the opposite by imposing such a heavy tax burden on private industry to raise the money to pay for the welfare state's handouts that genuine prosperity is postponed, if not made impossible.

If government efforts to eliminate poverty were the best or only means of meeting the needs of the people, as is so often proclaimed, by now the nations which have tried that approach for many years should be enjoying unlimited prosperity. Instead, the most thoroughly socialized countries of the world today are precisely the poorest, and in many of them the problem of poverty is actually becoming increasingly acute.

On the other hand, the only countries where poverty is constantly declining are those which have permitted and encouraged a relatively free economy, and relied to a lesser degree on the state to play the role as the ultimate provider of the people's welfare.

Should no conclusion be drawn from this dramatic contrast? Have we learned nothing from the past? Is it a mere coincidence that, for literally thousands of years, earth's inhabitants knew almost nothing but poverty until, in just a brief moment in history and on a small corner of the planet, man learned the secret of capital formation and the harnessing of human energy with the result that poverty, for most, suddenly became the exception rather than the rule?

Apparently, the "Great Society's" anti-poverty warriors have learned nothing from the past. For their whole approach to the problem of poverty is the application of the formula which has not only failed to cure the disease, but in most cases has made it more acute. Their campaign must, therefore, inevitably produce the very opposite of its objective.

The only genuine cure for poverty is the encouragement of private industry, the greatest possible unleashing of the productive forces of the free market economy. As Dean Russell concluded in *The Freeman* several years ago, "Nothing else is required; anything else will fail."

A Brief Summary of the Various 'Anti-Poverty' Programs

Launched in 1964 with an appropriation of $900 million, the federal government's "War on Poverty" has already spent approximately $2.3 billion and Sargent Shriver wants $1.75 billion for fiscal 1967. Following is a brief outline of the separate programs included in the program, with an outline of their individual costs, the number of people involved and other pertinent information:

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS: A wide variety of projects designed and administered by local agencies, both government and private, though financed almost entirely by Washington. Projects include Headstart, Upward Bound, legal aid, remedial reading, counseling, neighborhood welfare service centers. Approximately 650 community-wide action groups, 1,100 projects funded to date, including many of the most controversial activities. Cost: $1.265 billion.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

JOB CORPS: Education, training, some work experience for jobless youth and school dropouts aged 16 to 21 at residential camps and urban centers. Approximately 20,000 enrolled. Cost: $650 million.

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NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS: Part-time work of youths 16 to 21 still in school or encouraged to return. Unlike Job Corpsmen, enrollees live at home. Some 295,000 in the program. Cost: $570 million.

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WORK-EXPERIENCE PROGRAM: Training for unemployed welfare recipients to prepare them for jobs. About 28,000 participants so far. Cost: $311 million.

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RURAL LOANS: Long-term, low-interest credit to some 20,000 rural dwellers and 300 cooperatives. Cost: $92 million.

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VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA (VISTA): Often called the "Domestic Peace Corps," the program's volunteers work in slums, rural areas, Indian reservations, migrant camps on one-year assignments. Approximately 2,100 volunteers to date. Cost: $38 million.

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SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT: Low interest credit to businessmen or potential businessmen who cannot obtain conventional financing. Goal: 2,500 loans. Cost: $25 million.

(The figures given for cost include appropriations or estimates through fiscal year 1967.)

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The Declaration of Independence begins: "When in the course of *Human Events*. . . ."

In reporting the news, *Human Events* is objective; it aims for accurate presentation of the facts. But it is *not* impartial. It looks at events through eyes that are biased in favor of limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise and individual freedom. These principles represented the bias of the Founding Fathers. We think the same bias will preserve freedom in America.

Editor of This Special Issue Kenneth E. Thompson

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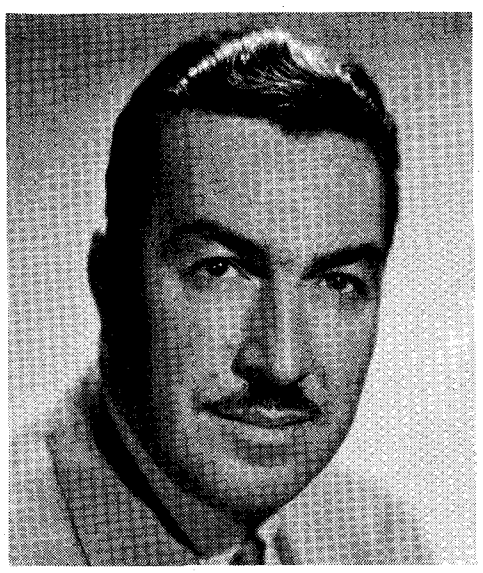
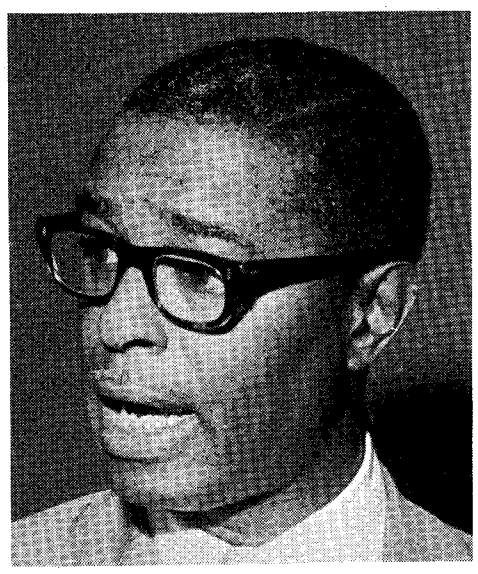
Graft, Bribes and Kickbacks

The Case of the Disappearing Dollars

Some time ago, a 13-state alarm went out for the arrest of Domingo Ramos, a Bronx Democrat and former aide to Rep. Jacob Gilbert (D.-N. Y.), indicted on 14 counts of stealing anti-poverty funds. Among other things, Ramos was charged by a grand jury with padding the payroll of the anti-poverty project he directed with non-existent employes and funds.

More recently, the FBI arrested an official of the Job Corps center at Camp Atterbury, Ind., on a charge that he had solicited a $2,000 bribe from a bakery equipment firm in return for securing contracts for the firm with the center.





"The best anti-poverty program in the country," says Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.), left, is HARYOU-ACT in New York, headed by his former top aide and close associate, Livingston Wingate. Waste and financial chaos have been the hallmarks of this group.

Incidents of outright graft, such as these, may not be typical of the "War on Poverty," but more than a few have made the headlines—and how many more are yet to be discovered or committed is anybody's guess.

Boston's anti-poverty program on two occasions has been racked with scandal involving, according to Rep. Silvio Conte (R.-Mass.), "fraud, theft, sloppy administration and the political pork barrel."

Last year, the Boston *Traveler* reported that a Youth Corps supervisor had masterminded a $1,600 payroll theft. Earlier the same newspaper had charged that a corpsman and counselor were involved in the misuse of $1,300 in federal funds.

Payroll 'Ghosts'

These began to look like only a small part of the picture when one third of the 600 teen-agers employed in Boston's Youth Corps program last summer told FBI investigators that their W-2 federal income tax forms showed more income than they actually received. Investigators also were unable to locate many youths put on the payroll. (Payroll "ghosts," kickbacks and overpayments have also been uncovered in two of Tennessee's Neighborhood Youth Corps programs.)

As a result of these irregularities, federal funds for Boston's "War on Poverty" were held up briefly for two months. The program's director, Joseph Slavet, resigned under pressure and the deputy director, Arnold L. Schuchter, was fired. But according to Rep. Charles E. Goodell (R.-N. Y.), Schuchter has since become a "consultant" for OEO in Washington.

Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N.Y.) has done excellent research into the scandals surrounding the "War on Poverty."

Several cases of graft and malfeasance were uncovered last year in a Headstart project in Mississippi, run by the "Child Development Group," composed mainly of out-of-state civil rights workers. Roughly one third of the money—some $500,000— has not yet been accounted for.

A few curious expenditures which have been tracked down include the rental of a bathroom for $100, a garbage can for $10, a sink for $100, a refrigerator for $120, a stove for $110 and a carpet for $92. All of these items were rented for eight weeks from a church, which was donated "free" to serve as the headquarters for the project.

Anti-poverty funds were also used by the project to bail out civil rights workers and to pay their room and board. An airplane was chartered for an official to fly 200 miles to address a Headstart "graduating class" of five and six-year-olds. Another official chartered a plane to attend a meeting of the project's board of directors.

Doctors and dentists were paid a set fee to examine each child enrolled in the program, and according to columnist Drew Pearson, "some doctors rushed the little Negro youngsters through the exams so fast that they were able to collect $100 an hour."

When Senate investigators began looking into the Mississippi project, bookkeepers from a New York firm—which had already received $27,000 in advance on a $35,000 contract to audit the project's books—left the state in haste, taking the books with them.

Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.) demanded that OEO conduct an investigation. After a brief look-see, Shriver's office reported that it could find no irregularities. Later, however, it confirmed that approximately $500,000 could not be accounted for.

Nevertheless, only a few weeks after confirming that the project had been grossly mismanaged, OEO announced a $5.6-million grant for a new Headstart project in Mississippi to be managed by—who else?—the "Child Development Group" which ran last summer's disastrous program. Commented the Richmond *News Leader* acidly: "In the 'War on Poverty,' nothing succeeds like failure."

Unquestionably, the worst example of anti-poverty graft has been uncovered in Harlem's infamous HARYOU-ACT program which, though established to calm racial tension in New York, channeled some $115,000 into LeRoi Jones' racist "Black Arts Theater" project, among other things (see page 6).

HARYOU-ACT stands for "Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited" and "Associated Community Teams," once separate anti-poverty projects merged as a result of Adam Clayton Powell's determination to gain direct control over the $18 million they were initially budgeted to spend over a three-year period.

Powell Aide Picked

Livingston Wingate, a former top aide and close associate of the Harlem congressman, soon became HARYOU-ACT's $25,000-a-year executive director. And Dr. Kenneth Clark, a respected Negro educator who had conceived and planned the projects, quit as chairman of the agency in disgust.

He has charged the agency with "chaos and confusion," adding that, "we have turned over this program to people who are just not competent to administer it."

That may be one of the greatest understatements yet concerning the "War on Poverty."

Last fall, the district attorney's office in New York City discovered that more than $600,000 supposedly spent by HARYOU-ACT could not be accounted for by supporting invoices. A little more probing turned up the fact that HARYOU-ACT had spent at least $400,000 more than it was authorized to spend and that the Freedom National Bank, which had permitted the project to overdraw its account by $200,000, was on the verge of bankruptcy and had to be bailed out by the city controller's office.

Federal funds to HARYOU-ACT were temporarily frozen and a half-a-dozen investigations—federal, state, local, congressional, private and by the agency itself—were launched to try to find out what happened to all the missing money.

The principal job of trying to reconstruct and untangle HARYOU-ACT's records was turned over, incredibly, to Livingston Wingate, the very official who was responsible for allowing the agency's books to get into what even he admitted was a condition of "gross disarray."

In December 1965, Wingate was given a leave of absence to devote full time to come up with an accounting which would explain the disappearance of the funds. He was given a deadline of Feb. 1, 1966, to complete the task—a date that came and passed with no report. In fact, Wingate has yet to explain how all the money disappeared.

Nevertheless, federal funds for the agency were unfrozen and, in May, Wingate was restored to his full duties as the agency's director.

Meanwhile, investigators have discovered that HARYOU-ACT's unaccounted expenditures actually exceeded $800,000 and may yet top $1 million. They also found that the agency owes nearly $300,000 in federal taxes which it had withheld from the paychecks of its employes but neglected to turn over to the IRS.

Some of the other interesting bits and pieces of information which investigators have unearthed include the following:

- At one time, HARYOU-ACT was paying $350 a week for "cleaning services" to several people related to an official of the agency.
- It leased eight vehicles at $90 a week apiece plus gas from a travel agency which was renting the cars for considerably less from a well-known auto-leasing firm. The travel agency had an inside track, however, since one of its executives was on the HARYOU-ACT payroll as a $175-a-week "consultant."
- The agency spent the unbelievable amount of $100,000 per month for three months last summer for "protection service" by a detective firm.
- It rented several pieces of property which it has never used.
- It published one edition of a small newspaper and paid the printer $10,000.
- It purchased $40,000 worth of "creative toys" never distributed and stored in a warehouse for more than a year at high rates.
- Several people posing as ministers with churches and day-care centers received funds from the agency. One "church" turned out to be a printing shop; a "day-care center" was nothing but an empty lot.

The only investigation into HARYOU-ACT which has failed to turn up any evidence of this sort is the congressional probe of the "War on Poverty" by Adam Clayton Powell—who, incidentally, has yet to account for a majority of the $230,000 Congress gave him to conduct the inquiry.

Pointless Probe

Powell's sleuths spent only two days in Harlem, though they were there at the very time the story of HARYOU-ACT's disappearing dollars broke in the newspapers. But apparently they could find nothing. Powell, in fact, has called HARYOU-ACT "the best anti-poverty program in the country," and only recently urged that its allotment of federal funds be tripled.

Accordingly, HARYOU-ACT recently submitted a $6-million budget for a special summer program, vowing not to accept "one dime" of a $1.9-million federal grant, which was called a "pittance."

One might think that since the agency has yet to account for nearly a million dollars it has already spent—and owes the federal government some $300,000 in taxes to boot—Shriver's office would have called HARYOU-ACT's bluff and cut the agency off without a dime. Instead, it promptly came through with an increase—not as big as HARYOU-ACT had demanded, but $700,000 above what OEO had previously said was the "ceiling" for the summer program.

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Big Salaries, Red Tape, Bureaucracy

The Outrageous Cost of Anti-Poverty Overhead

"This is a prudent program," Sargent Shriver assured members of Congress when the "War on Poverty" began. "It is prudently planned in that every dollar will be spent to help the poor. There will be no huge new bureaucracy."

Probably no other single aspect of the "War on Poverty" has been so often the target of criticism—from all sides—as its tendency to devour so much money for "administrative" costs; i.e., high salaries, unnecessarily large staffs and red tape. In a word, bureaucracy. Even Adam Clayton Powell, no ordinary critic of the program, has attacked it as "a monolith of extravagantly paid functionaries."

The bureaucracy that Sargent Shriver promised only two years ago would not materialize has arrived. In the fiscal year that began on July 1, the "War on Poverty" is to be run by 7,233 permanent employes. This is an increase of 11 per cent over the previous year.

Their salaries are budgeted for nearly $55 million. Approximately half of this money, and more than a third of the bureaucrats, are accounted for by Shriver's anti-poverty headquarters in Washington. There, nearly half of the workers are budgeted for salaries in excess of $10,000 a year.

Three dozen outrank America's astronauts in wages and 25 are to be paid more than Gen. William Westmoreland, who commands our forces in Viet Nam.

Few Indians

It takes more than twice as many people to run the Office of Economic Opportunity as the number required to run the U. S. Office of Education, though the latter is responsible for administering a program involving a budget twice as large.

Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) has suggested that "a better name for the poverty outfit would be the Office of Economic Opportunists." For OEO has more employes in the GS-15 salary bracket than in GS-9; more GS-14s than GS-4s; more GS-13s than 7s; and exactly as many GS-16s at a base pay of $19,619 as GS-2s at $3,814.

One out of every 18 workers in the "War on Poverty," in fact, is paid more than $19,000 per year. By way of contrast, only one out of every 1,000 workers in the Department of Defense makes that kind of salary. And it's a good thing. For if the Defense Department had as many chiefs and as few Indians as OEO, it would need roughly six buildings the size of the Pentagon to provide them with office space.

Unlike the Defense Department—and most other government agencies—there aren't many sergeants in Shriver's war. Practically everybody is a general or admiral.

Out in the hinterlands, things are not much better than they are in Washington. Not long ago, the director of Connecticut's anti-poverty program complained that they were getting a bad image because so much money was being spent on high salaries and so little on benefits for the poor.

He said that in Hartford, the "mushrooming payroll" was "appalling," eating up $600,000 a year, or about half of all the money coming from Washington to the city. The criticism was countered by the director of Hartford's program, who maintained that a 50 per cent cost for "overhead" wasn't at all bad; nationally, he insisted, salaries were eating up 70 per cent.

That's not particularly hard to believe, judging by some of the published news accounts of outrageous administrative costs. In California, for example, which has received more federal anti-poverty money than any other state, Dr. Paul O'Rourke, Gov. Edmund Brown's state OEO director, acknowledged that most of the funds have been spent on "organization and administration."

Just prior to the Watts riots, the head of the Los Angeles anti-poverty program was drawing a salary of $25,000, and his two assistants were making $25,000 and $21,000—*but none of the poor people in the Watts area of Los Angeles had received any aid.*

In Chicago, salaries have accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the city's total anti-poverty effort—and they're on the rise. Present plans are to increase the Windy City's anti-poverty staff from 1,000 to 3,500.

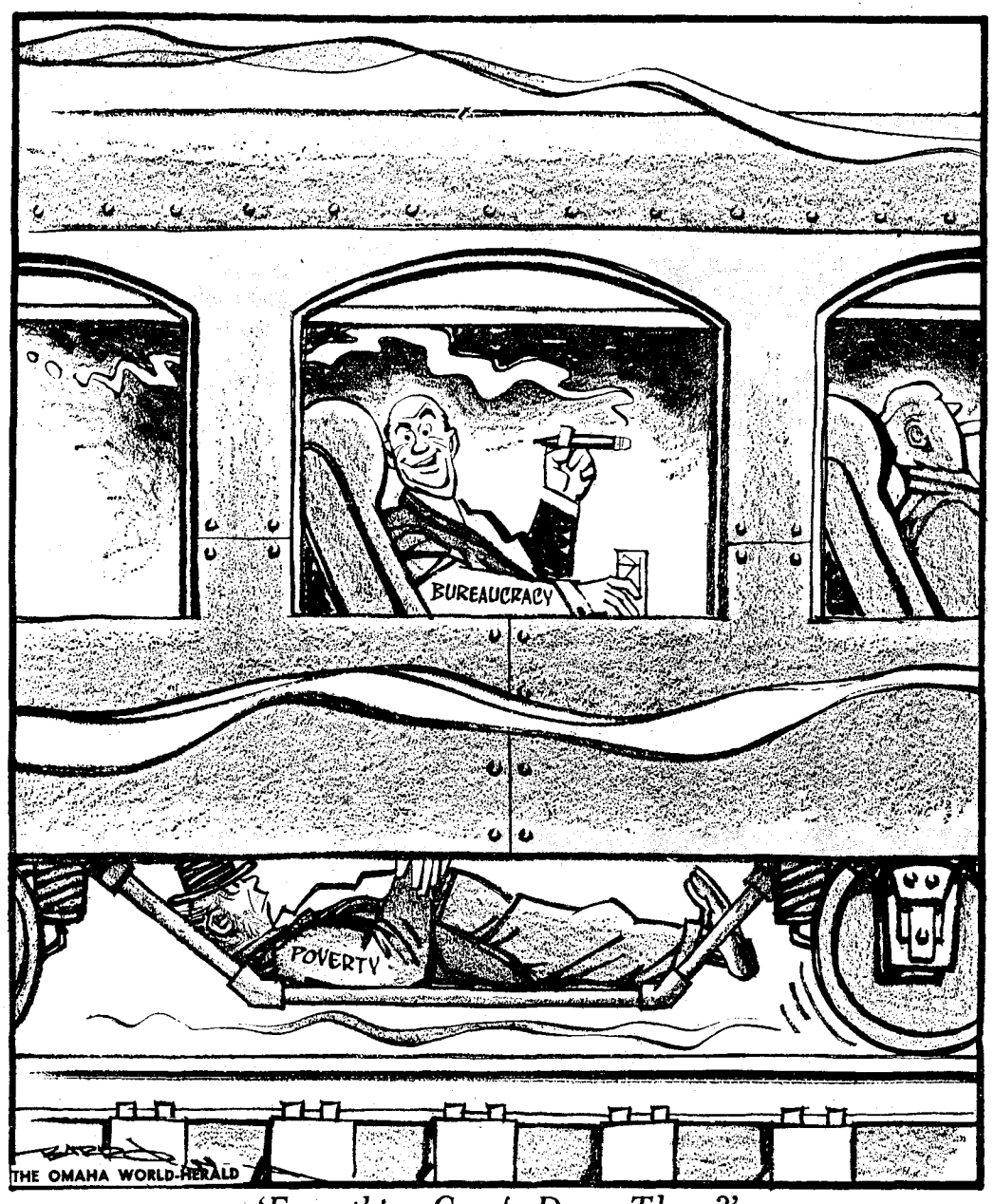
At one of the Chicago projects 28 employes were hired to supervise a mere 100 preschool children for an "Operation Headstart" program. Their salaries came to $12,750 per month, or $127.50 per child per month.

No wonder that a private firm hired by the Cook County office of economic opportunity to evaluate Chicago's anti-poverty program recently reported that it was in an administrative mess.

In Newark, N. J., salaries accounted for $400,000 of a $535,000 budget. In Monmouth, N. J., $52,000 of a $67,000 budget went to pay bureaucrats—leaving a mere 25 per cent for the poor the program was designed to help. In Paterson, the mayor complained because the city's anti-poverty director was paid a higher salary than he was. And, in fact, the director of New Jersey's statewide anti-poverty campaign was making more money than any member of the governor's cabinet.

In South Boston, Va., $21,061 of a $26,615 program was to be spent on salaries and in Gum Springs, Va., the overhead came to $56,723 of a $82,150 grant. In Indianapolis roughly three-fourths of the money allotted to an anti-poverty project went for salaries and administration.

In addition to the regular payroll, the "War on Poverty" has also been passing out large fees to a variety of "consultants."



'Everything Comfy Down There?'

Courtesy Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

In New York, Mrs. Mary Conway Kohler was getting $500 a week to consult that city's Poverty Operations Board. She was also getting high consultant fees from several other government agencies, including the Department of Labor and the National Institute of Mental Health. In the same city, a prominent socialite, Miss Katrina Thomas, was hired as Mayor John Lindsay's personal photographer; to pay her salary, Miss Thomas was listed as a $35-a-day "consultant" for a New York anti-poverty program.

Consultant Fired

A few months ago, the directors of Miami's "War on Poverty" fired their $100-a-day architectural "consultant." It wasn't that they thought his fee was so high; they were put out because, under the architect's direction, it cost almost twice as much as the original estimate to remodel a building which was to serve as a day care center.

Miami's anti-poverty warriors have also had trouble with Dr. Barbara Gordon, who has complained that she deserves more than the $50-a-day she's been paid as a "consultant." Dr. Gordon's husband, incidentally, is a millionaire banker and lawyer—and a prominent Democrat and member of Miami's anti-poverty board as well.

In Texas, the Job Corps center at Camp Gary has retained a "consultant," Julian Read of Fort Worth, to handle its public relations. Officials at the camp and at OEO headquarters in Washington have refused to divulge how much Read has been paid. But the center has $73,440 earmarked in its budget for public information and community relations.

Interestingly enough, Read has also served as an "idea man" and speech writer for Gov. Connally, and has also helped direct several political campaigns—for Democrats, naturally.

OEO 'Moonlighters'

Sargent Shriver's office has likewise retained some expensive public relations help. It has paid several Washington newspapermen $2,000 to $4,000 each to perform brief "moonlighting" assignments, writing propaganda for the "War on Poverty."

To cover up this practice—frowned upon by most good newspapermen who consider that a journalist's objectivity and freedom is often lost or bought when he moonlights for the government—OEO paid the writers through purchase orders, normally used only to buy supplies.

Shriver's office further disguised what it was doing by leaving the names of the writers off a list of temporary employes and consultants it submitted to Congress.

Recalling that Gen. Sherman once said that "war is hell," former Vice President Richard Nixon recently suggested that "for the poverty war profiteers it has become paradise, the best years of their lives." The time has come, he submitted, "to muster out the mercenaries" in the "War on Poverty" by placing a limit on their salaries.

It doesn't seem likely to happen, though. Not when Headstart teachers in New York are paid $8 to $9.20 an hour for employment in the most expensive babysitting program in history, or when teachers are recruited for Job Corps camps in Texas at average salaries of $825 a month—50 per cent above what that state's public schools are paying on the average.

At Camp Gary 208 teachers and other employes received average salary boosts of nearly 60 per cent when they went to work for the "War on Poverty." Some were paid two and three times what they had previously been earning. Most of them had left teaching jobs to get on the anti-poverty payroll.

If this sort of thing continues, obviously public schools—already having a hard time recruiting the teachers they need—are going to have trouble keeping the ones they have. With Uncle Sam doling out the taxpayers' money to pay such attractive wages, everybody is going to want to jump on the anti-poverty gravy train.

Sooner or later, however, the taxpayers may put on the brakes. As columnist Ralph de Toledano has noted: "Feeding at the public trough is an old bureaucratic custom, but even the most cynical politician draws the line at filling that trough with caviar."

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The first group of Women's Job Corps enrollees arrived at the fashionable Poland Springs (Maine) Hotel in April 1966. The former resort has been transformed into the largest center of its kind. The trainees will be housed in the main hotel (background).

The 'Shriver System'

Inefficiency and Duplication Hike Costs of Training Programs

High salaries and big retainers for consultants are not the only reasons for the enormous price tag on the anti-poverty war. Poor planning, mismanagement, inefficiency, lack of coordination, duplication of effort—red tape, in general—have all taken their toll.

Not long ago, Ted Lewis of the New York *Daily News* wrote that, "as everybody with knowledge of Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity knows, the place is a bureaucratic mess. It is easily the worst-run agency in Washington, which is saying a lot."

One example cited by Lewis was that practically everybody working there competes with somebody else. "Three or four task forces often function competitively, each one working on the same problem as the other, unaware of the duplication of effort for weeks at a time."

Even Liberals Agree

This complaint is verified by the ultra-liberal *Progressive* magazine, which charged OEO with "administrative chaos," saying it "has yet to establish an orderly chain of command." It also took note of what it called the "Shriver system" of assigning identical tasks to two or more workers.

"The result," said the *Progressive*, "is that some projects are executed in duplicate or triplicate, while others must be neglected."

The magazine also charged Shriver with an "obsession with hoopla and gimmickry that has set OEO apart even in the terribly image-conscious Johnson Administration."

Lavish sums have been spent on publicity stunts. For example, says the magazine: "Scores of grant recipients have been summoned to Washington . . . when it was felt their presence would 'dress up' a session with reporters. Thousands of man-hours have been devoted to the compilation of interminable statistics, designed to show astonishing 'progress' toward the solution of problems which, somehow, have never been explicitly defined. Painstakingly, OEO has devised happy catchwords to designate key programs . . . while allowing the programs themselves to be assembled on a patchwork basis.

"Where OEO has obviously failed . . . the blame has been charged not to poor planning or shoddy administration but to the original setting of 'unrealistic goals.'"

Early this year, in an interview with *U. S. News & World Report*, Sargent Shriver was asked whether it might not be cheaper to train youngsters in their own home towns rather than send them away to Job Corps camps. He replied: "I personally believe that we know so little about how to combat poverty that it would be unwise not to try both."

The answer was all too typical of the "Shriver system" or approach. After two years in command of the "War on Poverty," he should be a bit reluctant, one would think, to admit that he knew "so little" about how to fight it that he was still using let's-try-anything-once, hit-or-miss strategies.

Poor planning, lack of coordination and just plain malfeasance at Job Corps camps, of course, has been a major cause of the "War on Poverty's" sullied image—and its high cost.

At one point, Camp Atterbury, Ind., had far more instructors and other staff members (500) than it had trainees (300).

At Camp Breckenridge, Ky., things weren't much better. Late last year, Breckenridge had a staff of 350 employes to supervise 358 corpsmen. That, however, was *after* 107 additional workers were fired, including the wives of 52 of the center's employes and the camp's director, who had placed his own wife on the payroll.

At Camp Gary, Tex., at last count there were 1,100 employes to supervise 2,457 trainees—a ratio of one to 2.23. The public schools of Texas average one employe for every 20 students.

Overstaffing of this sort at virtually every Job Corps camp—and elsewhere in the anti-poverty program—has run up the cost of training enormously. Originally, Shriver had promised that the total cost of training members of the Job Corps would be kept below $5,000 per year—which he thought reasonable, but others viewed as outrageously high.

After all, the program was to make up for what had been lost by elementary and high school dropouts, and the average cost, nationally, of educating each student in elementary and secondary schools is but $484 per year—roughly one-tenth what Shriver proposed to spend. And for considerably less than $5,000 a year a youngster could be enrolled in the best, most expensive Ivy League college.

Even his "reasonable" estimate, however, had to be revised—upward—rather quickly. Late last year, OEO was using the figure $6,000 for the cost of training a corpsman per year. By March of this year that had been upped to $7,680.

Real Cost Far Higher

Rep. Edith Green of Oregon, a liberal Democrat, suspected that even that figure was well below the actual cost. After considerable prodding, Mrs. Green forced one of Shriver's top aides to admit that the real cost per corpsman came to $11,251 a year.

More recently, an official OEO publication stated that there were 22,503 youths enrolled in the program at a cost of $292,619,391—which would come to slightly over $13,000 per trainee.

The cost at some camps, of course, has been higher. At Tongue Point, Ore., the total cost per year per corpsman, according to an OEO official, was $17,500. At Camp Atterbury, Ind., it came to $22,000. At the Women's Job Corps Center in St. Petersburg, Fla., the bill for the first year was $39,205 per "graduate."

But you haven't heard anything yet. At Camp Gary, Tex.,—Lyndon's Job Corps "showcase"—only 15 corpsmen had graduated and been placed in jobs after $13 million had been spent on the camp. That sounds like pretty close to $1 million per alumnus, a rather exotic job placement and training fee.

Whatever the exact average cost, it is surely much too high. As Rep. Sam

Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, has underestimated the cost of almost every "anti-poverty" program.

Gibbons (D.-Fla.) has noted, the federal government could provide youngsters of Job Corps age with far more meaningful training at considerably lower cost. It could find jobs for them, pay them $1.25 an hour, and the annual cost would come to $1,300 for a 20-hour-week or $2,600 for a 40-hour-week.

Even by OEO's own recent estimates, it is costing nearly $300 million to keep 22,503 Job Corpsmen in camps. For less than $30 million—one-tenth as much—the same number could be given 20-hour-a-week jobs at $1.25 per hour. Put the other way around, 10 times as many youngsters could be given more meaningful job experience and training for the same amount Washington is spending to operate the Job Corps.

The Job Corps is by no means the only anti-poverty program where the cost of training enrollees has been ridiculously out of line.

Last fall, the Baltimore *Sun* complained that the results of a federally financed project to provide work experience and retraining for jobseekers in Baltimore could not be justified by the cost. "On the bare statistics alone," said a *Sun* editorial, "the federal job-training program in Baltimore presents a disturbing picture: More than $1.9 million spent . . . placed only 236 applicants in jobs. That puts an $8,000 public price tag on each success story."

For the same amount of money, or less, the anti-poverty bureaucrats could have put each of the jobseekers through four years of college at the University of Maryland.

This spring the Largo *Sentinel* told a similar tale with respect to a work experience and training program in Pinellas County, Fla. There, $907,932 has been allocated by OEO to retrain 300 jobseekers. That would come to slightly over $3,000 each. But the *Sentinel* noted that the project's director has said "he would be most satisfied if only 25 per cent complete the training." That would put a $12,000 price tag on each success story.

Either figure, however, is inexcusably high when you consider that, according to the *Sentinel*, the county's board of public instruction already had a similar program in operation that was costing a mere $81 per trainee.

'Headstart' Also Costly

Not even Headstart, supposedly the best run of all the "War on Poverty" programs, has escaped notice and criticism for poor and costly administration.

In Washington, D. C., 450 pre-kindergarten children were enrolled in day-care centers at a cost of $635,000. That comes to $1,411.11 per child for a program that amounts to little more than babysitting. The cost of educating a child in the District's public schools is less than $500 a year. For $600 less per pupil, the Headstart youngsters could have been enrolled in several of the area's most expensive private kindergartens. Even getting a college education at the most expensive university in the Washington area is cheaper.

In Miami, Fla., a Headstart program is costing $26 per week. In Chicago, a Headstart project has cost $30 a week per child. Many private kindergartens in all parts of the country are able to make ends meet by charging as little as $20 per *month*.

When OEO approved a grant for the Kentfield school in a well-to-do section of California's Marion County, the San Francisco *Examiner & Chronicle* noted that "an observer would find it hard to believe that any resident family could be in the poverty income bracket." The school hadn't even asked for anti-poverty funds, but was given $2,700 anyway to buy teaching materials to be used in a special class for nine children about to enter the first grade—$300 per child.

Many people have wondered whether or not the taxpayers are getting their money's worth out of the "War on Poverty." The blunt truth is that they're being robbed.

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Where Your Money Goes

'Black Arts' Blackmail and Haryou-Act's 'Five Percenters'

A few months ago, the New York *Daily News* reported the following dialogue between an anti-poverty worker and a Harlem youth:

"What were you doing last summer?"

"I was in a Community Action Program."

"What kind?"

"Fighting cops, baby."

That sort of thing may not have been what Congress or the OEO intended when they began to vote money for "Community Action Programs," easily the most radical and controversial of all the activities of the "War on Poverty." But unfortunately, too often that has been the result.

Last March, 50 New York policemen raided a building at 109 West 130th Street in Harlem. The raid was necessary, said one high police official, to thwart a plot by a fanatically militant black nationalist group. In the building police discovered a rifle range and an arsenal of deadly weapons, including a crossbow, a pipe-bomb loaded with powder, sharpened meat hooks, as well as dozens of rifles, pistols, knives, clubs and bandoliers of ammunition.

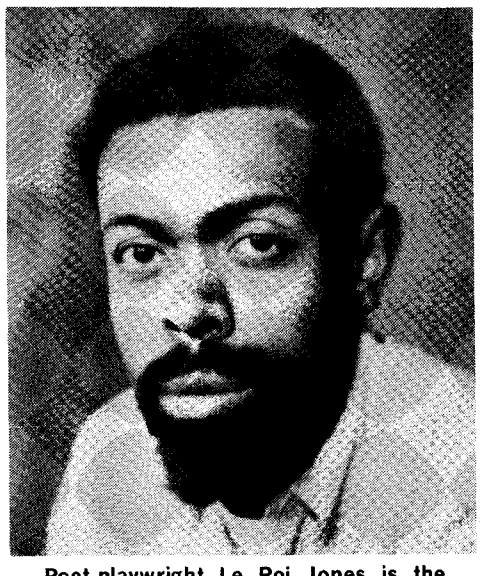
They also found marijuana, several opium and hashish pipes and two signs. One said: "All weapons will be cleaned and sharpened by 6 p.m." The other warned: "The penalty for disbelievers is death."

In the course of the raid, six men were arrested, among them two wanted for the shooting a week earlier of another black nationalist.

What does all this have to do with the "War on Poverty"? Simple. The establishment that was raided happens to be the headquarters for an outfit called the Black Arts Repertory Theater, founded as a "Community Action Program" for Harlem in April 1965 with $40,000 in federal anti-poverty funds. (Actually, more than $100,000 in federal funds eventually went into the Black Arts project.)

Its founder, Negro poet-playwright LeRoi Jones, is a militant black nationalist. Even the liberal Washington *Post* describes him as a "race-baiting, white-hating Negro playwright." Jones himself has proclaimed "I don't see anything wrong with hating white people." He has advocated taking Harlem away from the "beast" (the white man), and setting it up as an independent black nation.

To do so may require force and violence, but Jones doesn't mind. He once wrote: "The force we want is of 20 million spooks [Negroes] storming America with furious cries and unstoppable weapons. We want actual explosions and actual brutality." The weapons and ammunition found by police in his building may have been just a start; but they certainly weren't stage props.



Poet-playwright Le Roi Jones is the leader of the racist Black Arts Repertory Theater which received taxpayer money.

Jones used the Black Arts theater as a forum for his obscene and racist plays, which invariably portrayed white people as degenerates and homosexuals. The theater was a center of several dozen like-minded writers, actors, sculptors and painters who addressed each other as "Brother" and "Sister."

Less well known is the fact that, with federal anti-poverty funds, Jones recruited 400 students for an eight-week summer teaching session at the theater. Children between the ages of seven and 13 were instructed in "hard-core" black nationalism.

All this caused quite a fuss a year ago, with the result that OEO decided it had better quit subsidizing such a controversial project. Lucky for him, just a few days before the theater was raided, Sargent Shriver admitted to Congress that "No federal dollars should have gone to the Black Arts Theater," which he said, "produced vile racist plays in language of the gutter unfit for the youngsters of the audience."

No Apologies

But before the Black Arts kitchen had become so hot, Shriver's deputy director of publicity, James Kelleher, had not only condoned the federal subsidy for the project; he praised it: "We'd rather see these kids fussing on the stage than on the streets . . . the over-all program was a good one and we have to figure that this [the theater school] was a part of its success . . .

United Auto Workers' chieftain Walter Reuther predicts riots and bloodshed unless the demands of his Citizens Crusade Against Poverty are met.

[we] wanted Jones in the program. He is a legitimate playwright, whatever you may think about his views. *We knew about it when we granted the money and we have no apologies*" (emphasis added).

When criticism of the Black Arts subsidy began to increase, OEO changed its tune slightly. In answer to a protest from Rep. Alton A. Lennon (D.-N. C.), Shriver's office conceded that Jones' plays were "crude and racist in character," adding that OEO "does not condone or excuse the production of these plays." But, continued the memorandum, OEO "has not attempted to censor" them because—believe it or not—it cannot control such programs, even though they are financed by federal funds.

Millions of Americans who know better—farmers, local school officials, businessmen who've incurred White House wrath by raising prices—will ponder that excuse in amazement. For years Washington has never hesitated to clamp tight controls upon everything else it has subsidized. Why not the Black Arts Theater?

Even after Shriver admitted that the subsidy had been a mistake and cut off federal anti-poverty funds to the theater, Jones was back on the OEO payroll.

Rep. Paul A. Fino (R.-N. Y.) discovered that in April Jones was brought to Washington by the United Planning Organization, which runs the anti-poverty war in the Nation's Capital. He was paid to narrate and read poetry at a "cultural" meeting billed as "Three Days of Soul." Congressman Fino, who said that he had personally been assured by Sargent Shriver that the Harlem playwright would not receive any more anti-poverty funds, remarked with disgust: "I regret to say that I can only conclude that the poverty program must be riddled with secret sympathizers of Jones' brand of black nationalism."

Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, thinks the United States should get out of Viet Nam.

The local agency through which federal funds were channeled into LeRoi Jones' Black Arts Theater was HARYOU-ACT, the major outpost in the "War on Poverty" in Harlem whose activities have been widely publicized for its scandalous mishandling of anti-poverty funds. (See "The Case of the Disappearing Dollars" on page 3.)

HARYOU-ACT, itself, has some 30 black nationalists on the payroll as staff members. One of its $105-a-week consultants is James Lawhead, a veteran black supremacist who heads the United African Nationalist Movement.

A Class Struggle

The Harlem agency is run almost exclusively by Negroes. A New York *Times* article last fall noted that white persons who visit its offices encounter hostility, and even middle-class Negroes "have expressed similar uneasiness when dealing with the agency. They sense there is a class, as well as a caste, struggle in progress."

The same article pointed out that an inter-office memo concerning a campaign to enlist community support for HARYOU-ACT listed among those solicited black nationalists and drug addicts.

Livingston L. Wingate, executive director of the agency and a former aide to Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, recently conceded that he had used federal funds to hire Black Muslims and other militant racists, defending the practice on the grounds that "they are part of the Harlem community."

The agency, which has published an anti-white comic strip called "Uncle Whitey," also gave birth to a group called the "Five Percenters." Its members believe that only 5 per cent of the Negroes in America fully understand and support their campaign for violent revolutionary change in our society; the other 95 per cent are content to exploit or be exploited.

Boast of Blackmail

The "Five Percenters," trained in judo and karate, have terrorized large sections of Harlem. They boast that they receive funds from HARYOU-ACT by blackmail, threatening to bring revolution to the streets of New York unless they are paid off in anti-poverty blood money.

The boast apparently is not idle. HARYOU-ACT's boss, Livingston Wingate, commented: "If I tell too much [about the 'Five Percenters'] I'll be the late Wingate." Columnist William F. Buckley Jr. has written that "important politicians, state, city and federal, have known about the blackmail but, for fear of igniting a riot, have gone along with it."

HARYOU-ACT has also campaigned hard for the establishment of civilian police review boards and the hamstringing of police powers. It demanded the suspension of Lt. Thomas Gilligan, whose killing of a Negro in self-defense touched off the 1964 Harlem riots. Its people have also engaged in protests against the war in Viet Nam.

At a recent rally called to ask additional federal funds for HARYOU-ACT, the New York *Times* reported that there were "several emotional speeches . . . against spending money for the war in Viet Nam." One of the speakers, said the *Times*, shouted: "If Johnson wants to have a Viet Nam so bad, we'll give him a Viet Nam right here."

Blackmail and politicians, of course, have never been total strangers. But in recent years it has played an increasingly obvious role in national and world affairs. Many a tinpot tyrant has demanded—and received—tribute for agreeing not to go over to the other side, and many a piece of ill-advised legislation has been put on the books after notice was served that this or that bloc of voters would be delivered to the opposition, or there would be blood in the streets if it failed of passage.

Nowhere has blackmail been more in evidence than in the "Great Society's" anti-poverty war.

Listen to Adam Clayton Powell, who has threatened that your neighborhood will go up in flames, *unless* spending on the poverty program is quadrupled. Listen to Floyd McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality, who adds that 40 American cities are ready to explode in violence, *unless* Washington doles out $23 billion dollars a year to the underprivileged.

Listen to Walter Reuther, who says that the poor will "search for answers in the blindness of night, and reason will

(Continued on next page)

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yield to riots and brotherhood will yield to bloodshed and we will tear asunder the fabric of our society," *unless* the demands of his Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty for instant affluence are met.

And yet, can you blame them? Sad to say, the politicians have taught them that blackmail works, that blood money is available for the asking.

Two years ago, Washington loudly proclaimed for all to hear that poverty not only could but would be abolished. The nation's poor people were told that they had a "right" to a larger share of America's riches. Not only that, but they have been told, over and over again, that the only reason they are poor is that they have been exploited and neglected. The "Great Society," of course, promised to change all that. And if many of the nation's poor are turning increasingly to direct action, abetted by "poverty warmongers," should we be surprised?

Of course not! The "Great Society" has raised the expectations of the poor far beyond its ability to fulfill them. It has made promises it cannot keep. And its record of condoning—even encouraging—disorderly demonstrations as an accepted method for citizens to make their demands, certainly hasn't helped matters.

The "War on Poverty" was sold to Congress and the American people as a measure designed to help the underprivileged help themselves. They're helping themselves, all right! Riots in Harlem, Watts and elsewhere have been followed almost immediately by a great outpouring of federal anti-poverty funds. Radical spokesmen for the poor have proclaimed that, whether earned or not, they mean to get their share—at the price of violence, if necessary.

The threats, the blackmail are no longer veiled. The battle cry of the "poverty warmongers," notes the Richmond *News Leader*, "is as old as the warning of highwaymen who demanded 'your money or your life!' They are impatient with plans and schedules. They want resources now. They want funds now. They are no longer concerned so much with what they need, but with what they want. . . .

"Yet, how much is enough? Two billion dollars? Seven? Twenty? The truth is that there can never be enough. As any victim of blackmail can testify, a blackmailer's greed can never be fully met; his demands grow increasingly unreasonable. In this instance, politicians made the promises, but, in the end, it is the people who will pay."

In Many Cities

'War on Poverty' Has Become a War on Business

Has the "War on Poverty" become, as well, a war on business? In several American cities it has come "dangerously close" to doing that, according to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

In March of this year, the Chamber's monthly magazine, *Nation's Business*, reported that under the guise of giving advice to poor people on how to stretch their budgets, anti-poverty workers in some areas have been engaging in questionable activities at best, and blatantly anti-business practices at worst.

In at least six cities—Washington, San Francisco, Baltimore, St. Louis, Providence and Los Angeles—"consumer education" programs have been set up with funds from OEO. If these programs were used merely to assist poor people in budgeting their money and avoiding the handful of loan-sharks and unscrupulous merchants who might take advantage of them, few would object.

The programs, however, have been used to promote buyers' strikes, boycotts, and the establishment of cooperatives at taxpayer expense.

In the Nation's Capital, anti-poverty workers helped the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to organize a city-wide boycott of the privately owned D.C. Transit Co., which resulted in a snarling of traffic and the loss of approximately 150,000 fares. Handbills picturing the transit company's president as a "buslord" collecting fares at gunpoint were hung in an office provided free of charge to the anti-poverty program by the owners of an apartment project.

Also in Washington, another handbill picturing a business leader with horns snatching bread from the outstretched arms of children was hung in a "consumer education" office by anti-poverty warriors on the public payroll.

The congressional act establishing the "War on Poverty," noted *Nation's Business,* "did not empower poverty program operatives to propagate their own judgments as to what constitutes 'deceptive' packaging"—an issue which Congress itself has not yet been able to resolve. But in Washington the magazine discovered that an ex-labor lobbyist on the payroll at a "consumer education" center was confidently giving advice to the poor about "deceptive packaging practices," warning them not to buy many well-known brand-name products.

"The act did not authorize persons whose salaries come from federal funds to direct customers into or away from specific places of business," noted the magazine. But it found that, in Baltimore, "consumer education" center employes were taking housewives on shopping trips, "urging them to buy at large chain stores and pass up the small neighborhood markets they have traditionally patronized."

In San Francisco, the "War on Poverty" has spent $256,251 to set up a consumer education "experiment." But, charges Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.), "What they are actually doing is promoting the establishment of cooperative stores in opposition to local independent business institutions."

Younger has pointed out that the Bay Area Neighborhood Development (BAND) program, which received this grant in excess of a quarter of a million dollars from Washington, is operated exclusively by enemies of private business. By OEO's own admission, all of the voting members of the BAND board happen also to be members of the board of directors of Associated Cooperatives, an organization of consumer cooperatives in San Francisco.

Is it fair to use public funds, collected in part from taxes on private business, to subsidize tax-exempt cooperatives which compete with private business? Where, in the legislation creating the "War on Poverty," was Sargent Shriver given authority to do anything of this sort?

In an angry denunciation of Washington's subsidy of the BAND project in San Francisco, the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., cited the program as typical of "using the fruits of free enterprise to promote Socialistic concepts."

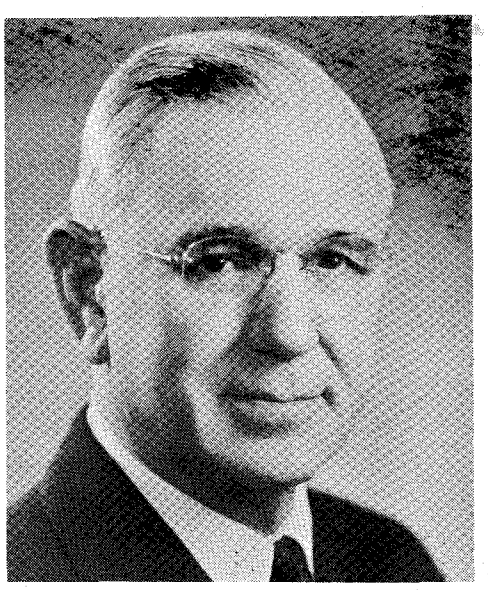
And Now, 'Judicare'

Another major aspect of the "War on Poverty's" war on business has been the establishment in many cities of free legal service organizations. This program has been aptly nicknamed "Judicare," for it will pose the same threat to attorneys that Medicare poses to the nation's doctors.

In approximately three dozen locations, the federal government has already begun distributing "credit cards" to the poor for free legal service. Though it has barely begun, this anti-poverty project has already cost more than $10 million—but that's just a foot-in-the-door beginning.

When the project started in Washington, D.C., three Negro attorneys filed suit against the district's anti-poverty agency, the United Planning Organization, charging that the free legal service was driving them out of business. One of the attorneys protested that UPO was offering free legal service to people who do not qualify as poor by federal anti-poverty standards, and who could well afford to pay a private attorney if they needed one.

"The current standard for free legal aid in Washington," he said, is $5,200 annual take-home pay for a family of four —nearly double the Labor Department's $3,000 gross income standard. "I've spent 11 years building up a law practice," he added. "Now along comes this so-called anti-poverty program and sets up an indigency standard way above reason. It's destroying my business, and I don't propose to sit by and let them do that without fighting back."



Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.) says anti-poverty funds are being used to set up cooperatives in competition with private business.

Genuinely poor people, of course, have always had access to free legal services. If they become involved in criminal cases and cannot afford a lawyer, they are provided court-appointed counsel. In civil cases, or in matters merely involving the need for legal advice, they have always been able to turn to free legal aid societies for assistance and counsel.

When the "War on Poverty" moved into Indianapolis with a plan to set up a legal service center, the Indianapolis *Star* protested that it was totally unnecessary, noting that for 25 years the city's locally financed and controlled legal aid society had been able to take care of the problem without ever having to turn anyone away.

What is more, the local free legal service had been provided by three full-time attorneys and an annual budget of less than $40,000.

The federal program in Indianapolis was to have been staffed by a director, an assistant director and 15 attorneys on an annual budget of $500,000 a year—more than 12 times as much—to start. Salaries alone for this battery of 17 "Judicare" bureaucrats would cost the taxpayers $182,500 a year—nearly five times the total annual budget of the locally operated legal aid society!

One of the reasons the federal program is so much more expensive is that the "Judicare" attorneys are expected to become involved in the practice of soliciting people to bring lawsuits against their landlords, their creditors and public welfare agencies—a practice that is considered unethical by bar associations in all states and is illegal for private lawyers in many. They will also provide free legal service for cooperatives, credit unions, organizations of the poor and the like.

It is quite possible for a taxpayer, under this arrangement, to find that he is indirectly paying the cost of a lawsuit against himself. That would be bad enough if he became involved in a suit which the plaintiff brought against him on his own initiative. But the prospect of having federal "Judicare" attorneys using his tax dollar to solicit suits against him is absolutely incredible.

And yet it is even possible that "Judicare" attorneys could solicit a case against the federal government—yes, against the "War on Poverty" itself. In that event, Washington would be in the absurd position of providing counsel for both the plaintiff and the defense, picking up the tab on both sides no matter what the outcome. Heads or tails, the taxpayer loses again.

New York officials look over collection of weapons confiscated during police raid on LeRoi Jones' Black Arts Repertory Theater in Harlem.

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Mobilization For Youth

Taxpayer-Financed Haven for Leftists, Subversives

Exhibit "A" in any case against the "War on Poverty's" inclination to attract and harbor leftists and outright Communists and to encourage radical, anti-social activities must necessarily be the New York project called Mobilization for Youth (MFY).

Actually, MFY predates the official "War on Poverty" by more than two years. It was launched in May 1962 by the late President Kennedy and former New York Mayor Robert Wagner as a pilot project for the federal "War on Poverty." Promised more than $12 million—$8 million from Washington, $2.8 million from New York City and $2 million from the Ford Foundation—MFY was set up to combat juvenile delinquency in a 20-block area of the city's lower East Side.

At a White House launching, President Kennedy described the MFY project as a "prototype" for his proposed "War on Poverty" and called it "the most advanced program yet devised to combat delinquency on a broad scale."

In July 1964, more than two years later, but one month before the Economic Opportunity Act was passed by Congress, President Johnson gave MFY another federal grant of $1.5 million.

Long before that, however, the project had begun to reek of scandal. It had become obvious to many that MFY was guilty of loose and shoddy administrative and financial practices.

Its officials were lavishly spending funds for purposes unrelated to the needs of the poor. They were engaging in partisan politics, pushing voter registration in Democratic areas and even diverting MFY money to a local Democratic club (later refunded).

MFY supported a rally of the Lower East Side Rent Strike Committee in New York at which the featured speaker was leftist Jesse Gray (above).

In the campaign against juvenile delinquency, MFY engaged in such strange activities as garbage dumping, rent strikes, school boycotts and helping to incite riots in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. It recruited some 500 people for Bayard Rustin's 1963 "civil rights" March on Washington.

Shortly after President Johnson expressed "deep interest and support" in MFY, announcing the new $1.5-million federal grant for the project, the New York *Daily News* dropped a bombshell. It charged that more than three dozen of MFY's employes had prior or current connections with the Communist party or other subversive organizations.

The project's officials quickly announced that they had begun an investigation into the *News*' charges and just as quickly hung the "Red herring" tag on them. It refused to stick, however, for even Phillip Haberman, a New York lawyer hired to conduct a whitewash investigation of MFY, finally quit the probe in disgust after receiving little cooperation from project officials and running up against a stone wall when he demanded that MFY fire an employe who admitted belonging to the Socialist Workers party, a group on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations.

Later investigations by city, state and federal officials (including the FBI) substantiated the *News*' charge that there had been "wholesale penetration" of MFY by Communists and other subversives.

Among other things, the investigators found that the Communist party, at the urging of one of its youth directors, Marvin Markman, had taken an early interest in MFY. Markman, according to the testimony of a former FBI operative, had told party officials that jobs would be available in the project and they should "consider ways and means of becoming active in all possible levels."

Apparently the party took his advice and was reasonably successful in penetrating MFY's official structure at levels up to and including the top.

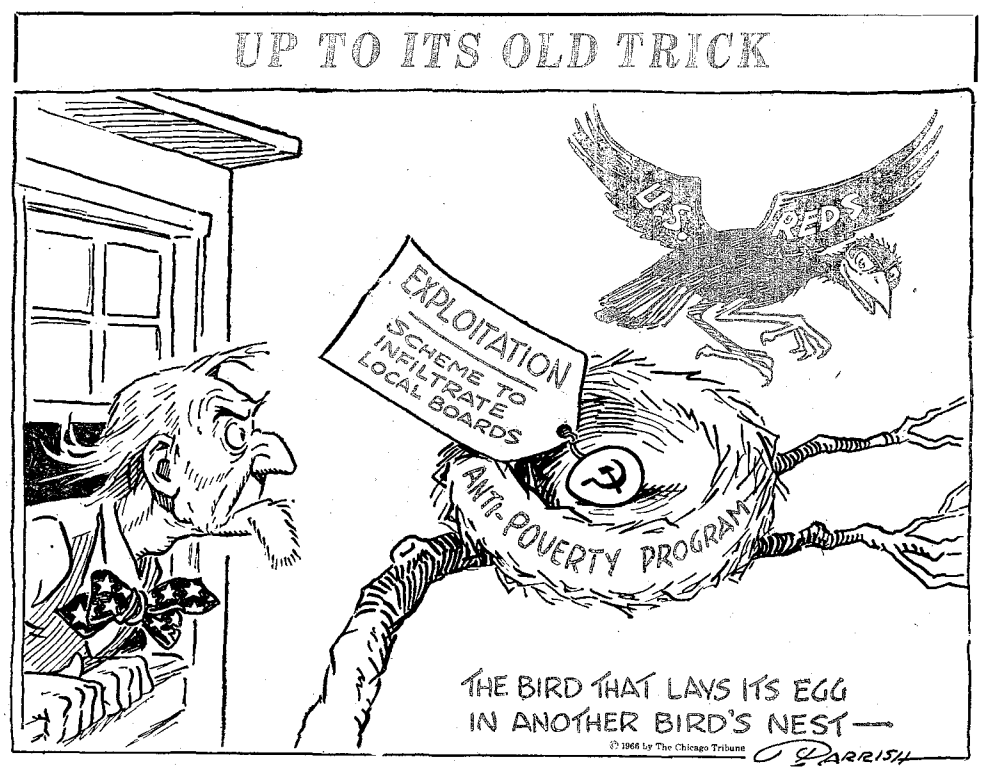
An identified member of the Communist party, Mrs. Esther Gollobin, was actually serving on MFY's board of directors. Another MFY official, Calvin Hicks, was a member of the party's lower Manhattan youth club, active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and served as executive secretary of the Monroe (N. C.) Defense Committee, a cited Communist front. The latter was set up to defend Robert F. Williams, a militant supporter of Castro, who fled to Cuba rather than face a kidnapping charge. Hicks also worked for Marzani & Munsell, a pro-Red publishing house, which published Williams' book, *Negroes With Guns*.

Another MFY employe, Marc Schleifer, served as editor of Williams' book, was a sponsor of the Monroe Defense Committee and was associated with the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Movement.

Still another MFY employe and Castro fan was Leroy McRae, an admitted member of the Socialist Workers party. And another was Mrs. Constance Bart, a member of the Communist party's state committee in New York, whose husband, Philip, had served as the party's national organization secretary and was a member of its national committee. Investigators, however, were unable to question the Barts, since they flew to Moscow to be honored guests at a Soviet anniversary celebration and to confer with top Kremlin functionaries.

MFY Paid for This Handbill

MASS RENT STRIKE RALLY
STANTON St. Between CHRISTIE & FORSYTH
→ THURSDAY, JAN. 30, 8 p.m. ←
Rats? Roaches? No Heat? No Hot Water?
OK, LANDLORDS, NO RENT!
Harlem tenants organized rent strikes and are getting results—WE CAN DO THE SAME!
The courts have decided rent strikes are LEGAL—TENANTS WILL NOT BE EVICTED
NO REPAIRS NO RENT!
JOIN the LOWER EAST SIDE RENT STRIKE!
RALLY! HEAR: JESSE GREY—coordinator, HARLEM rent strikes
LORIMAN RHODELL—Downtown CORE
GENOVEVA CLEMENTE—Organized Workers
FRANCES GOLDIN—University Settlement Housing Clinic
Rally Co-Chairmen: GRACE CADE PEDRO OTERO
For More Information:
Issued by: Lower East Side Rent Strike; Chairman: Grace Cade; Vice-Chairman: Pedro Otero
OR 7-5310 or OR 7-5311


UP TO ITS OLD TRICK
EXPLOITATION
SCHEME TO INFILTRATE LOCAL BOARDS
ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM
U.S. REDS
THE BIRD THAT LAYS ITS EGG IN ANOTHER BIRD'S NEST—
© 1966 by The Chicago Tribune
HARRISH

Two-Time Losers

Could the employment by MFY of all of these individuals—and more—with long subversive records have been merely a careless accident? It seems highly unlikely. For, to cite an additional case, MFY had another admirer of Castro on the payroll, a researcher named Carole Pina, who departed for Cuba in June 1964, on a trip organized by the Progressive Labor Movement, financed by Castro and forbidden by the State Department. When Miss Pina returned from her pilgrimage to Cuba, she was promptly put back on the MFY payroll.

The agency's officials might have been able to enter a plea of carelessness the first time they employed the young lady, but not after they had proved themselves to be two-time losers.

On MFY's list of "expert consultants" was the notorious Jesse Gray, identified under oath as a former Communist, and leader of the Harlem rent-strike movement. Gray was billed as the principal speaker at a January 1964 rally of the Lower East Side Rent Strike Committee, whose co-chairmen, Grace Cade and Pedro Otero, just happened to be MFY employes. MFY also just happened to pay for the printing of leaflets advertising the rally, which featured another speaker, Genoveva Clemente, the pro-Chinese Progressive Labor Movement's vice chairman for Puerto Rican affairs.

The motive behind the MFY-sponsored rent strikes, investigators discovered, was not necessarily to improve the living conditions of slum tenants. A confidential memorandum written by MFY organizer Ezra Birnbaum, advocated rent strikes as a means to "organize tenants as a political force . . . both as a means of effectuating change and as an end in itself." The memorandum made it clear that MFY not only was not interested in the individual grievances of tenants, but that it would do nothing about them "unless the tenant is prepared to help organize his building."

Another MFY-sponsored activity which drew unusually severe criticism even from the left-wing New York *Post* was the school boycott movement, which has disrupted education in New York City on several occasions. Two MFY-financed groups, the Lower East Side Committee on Civil Rights and the Mobilization of Mothers (which was described in the *Post* as a "phantom organization led by MFY staff members") became the target of sharp criticism by more than two dozen public school principals in the area affected by the boycotts and other anti-education activity. The principals charged MFY with encouraging "extremists" to "war against individual schools and their leaders." They singled out MFY's director Carl Brager as the chief culprit who had turned "full-time paid agitators and organizers of extremist groups loose on the community to create disorder, disharmony and violence—the very conditions MFY was created to combat."

Demanding an investigation, the principals called for the dismissal of Brager. But city officials quietly buried their report. As for Carl Brager, he not only was not dismissed; he went on to bigger things, promoted soon after to serve in the Washington headquarters of the "War on Poverty."

A final example of MFY's radical activities is the "Adventure Corps," a 300-member outfit of youngsters, aged 9 to 13, described nonchalantly in a federal report as a "paramilitary" group. According to MFY, "lower-income youth prefer the rituals, symbols and activities of a paramilitary organization to the soft, folksy styles of more traditional programs." Put more bluntly by liberal social worker Laurence S. Cole, the "Adventure Corps" emphasized "military drill, including uniforms and rifles, and a general kind of Bundist rigidity. One leader of this wing of the organization told me he thought 'the Nazi philosophy included the best kind of involvement for youth that had ever existed.'"

One might have thought that such admittedly radical and dangerous programs as these would have caught the

(Continued on next page)

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eye and felt the lash of leading liberals who have made a career of magnifying and bemoaning the danger of rightist organizations such as the Minutemen, which are neither federally financed nor composed of children aged 9 to 13.

But for all its sins, MFY has survived and continued to draw both moral and monetary support from Washington—largely, perhaps, because for too long, too many have been too busy focusing the spotlight of national attention exclusively on the relatively harmless phenomena of "extremists" on the right. Indeed, they have constantly peddled the line that if "extremism" on the left is not impossible, it is well-nigh invisible.

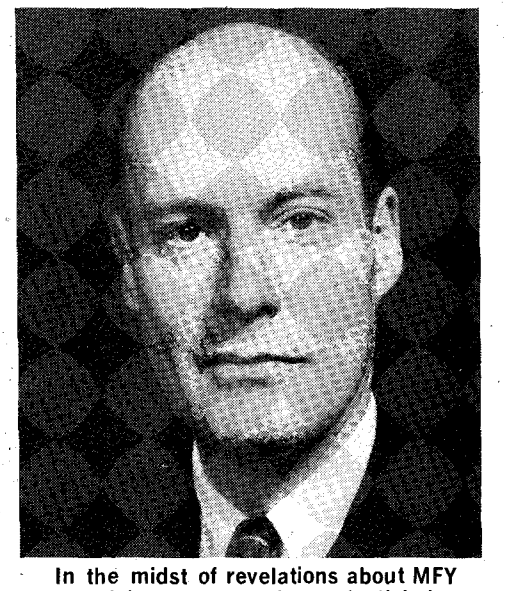
Even after MFY's almost endless string of scandals was in full view and confirmed by city, state and federal investigating bodies, federal officials continued to lavish praise, as well as dollars, on the project.

At the height of the furor caused by the scandals, Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz made a visit to New York for the express purpose of making a statement to the press whitewashing the agency. Katzenbach told reporters, "From what I have seen here today, things are being done," indicating that everything was all right. And soon after, Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N. Y.), head of poverty investigations, gave James McCarthy a position as head of his investigatory staff at a salary of over $20,000 a year. McCarthy had been director of MFY until the heat caused by the scandals forced him to resign.

Vote of Confidence

This is, perhaps, the greatest of all the scandals involving MFY—that, fully cognizant of its activities, Washington has continued to endorse and finance the program. To date more than $6 million in federal funds has been used to underwrite MFY's incredibly far-out activities.

Last October, in fact, MFY received a new grant of $600,000 from Washington, which the New York *Times* described as "tantamount to a vote of confidence in the once-embattled agency."



In the midst of revelations about MFY scandals, Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach flew to New York and indicated that everything about the group was fine.

And more recently, mid-July this year, Mobilization for Youth was named as one of four New York City agencies picked to provide legal services to the poor under the $3.4-million anti-poverty program known as Judicare.

The *Times* noted, however, that MFY hadn't completely changed its ways, having organized several picketing and sit-in protests only a few weeks before the "vote of confidence" was cast.

Immediately after MFY's most outrageous activities were in full view, in fact, a special review panel appointed by the secretary of health, education and welfare came to the unbelievable conclusion that the "over-all estimate of MFY programs" is that "they have been imaginative, dynamic and far-reaching and that they offer worthy models for other communities." Worthy models? That's what the report said.

In other words, in spite of its boondoggling and radicalism—perhaps unparalleled in the entire "War on Poverty"—Mobilization for Youth continues to be placed in the same role that it was originally cast: As a pilot project for similar programs throughout the United States.

Socialist Origins of the 'War on Poverty'

"We are going to take all of the money that we think is unnecessarily being spent and take it from the 'haves' and give it to the 'have-nots' that need it so much." So spoke the President in the Fish Room of the White House and the philosophy behind the "War on Poverty" was laid bare.

The sentiment is not so very different from the Marxist slogan, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need." Nor, for that matter, is it so far removed from Adolf Hitler's promise that National Socialism would banish want and fear, bringing a "new day of abundance" to every German from childhood to old age.

And in several of its more extreme moments, President Johnson's "War on Poverty" has bordered on the type of socialism that one associates with totalitarian regimes.

For some time, the Office of Economic Opportunity has had on the drawing board a proposal to install underprivileged families in government training camps where their entire lives would be ordered—and financed—by Big Brother in Washington.

Communal Living

The scheme called for a pilot project involving 200 families, at an annual cost of $2 million—$10,000 per family. That, presumably, would provide them with all of their needs—food, housing, schools for the children, job training and housekeeping instructions for the fathers and mothers, recreation, clothing, etc.

The scheme, described by anti-poverty planners as an "imaginative and promising solution," was designed, among other things, to "prepare children for communal living."

If such ideas sound a bit frightening; no one should be particularly surprised. For those who laid out the blueprint for the "War on Poverty" and who have been its most ardent spokesmen are by and large Socialists, by affiliation or instinct.

The individual most often credited with providing the inspiration for the program and provoking the clamor for its launching is Michael Harrington, an avowed Socialist who has described himself as being "to the left of Norman Thomas."

Harrington's credentials as a radical are impeccable. He has served as chairman of both the Young Socialist League and the League for Industrial Democracy. He has edited the Socialist party newspaper, *New America*. He is a contributor to the far-left magazine, *Liberation*. And, among other activities, he has called for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, scored America's invasion of Cuba, protested the late President Kennedy's decision to resume nuclear tests in the atmosphere and asked for the commutation of the death sentence for the atom spy traitors, the Rosenbergs.

Yet, with such a background, Harrington was one of the very first people called to Washington by Sargent Shriver to serve as a chief "idea man" for the "War on Poverty." His book, *The Other America*, which vastly exaggerates the poverty problem and recommends a pure Socialist cure, is regarded by federal anti-poverty workers and their supporters as something of a bible on the subject.

Another leading radical who has been extremely active both inside and outside the official "War on Poverty" is Saul Alinsky.

An organizer for the CIO during its most radical era, Alinsky has been preaching class warfare and other Marxist concepts for a quarter of a century. His speciality is in the field of what he calls "the tactics of social revolution," notably in organizing militant direct-action protests which pit the poor against city hall and the "power structure." Or, as Alinsky himself puts it, "rubbing raw the sores of discontent."

Professional organizer Saul Alinsky says the poor must get together and battle slum conditions.

Boycotts, rent strikes, sit-downs, mass rallies—these are Alinsky's favorite methods. "The fight is in the streets," he proclaims, "in this revolution." He has also declared that "there can be no social change without conflict first."

The opening sentence of Alinsky's new book, *Rules for Revolution*, advertises: "Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* to tell the 'haves' how to keep it; this is a book to tell the 'have-nots' how to take it away." Lyndon "Robin Hood" Johnson must have seen the manuscript in advance.

Even Dr. Harold Fey, editor of the liberal *Christian Century*, has charged: "I think the [Alinsky's] orientation is basically Marxist," adding that what Alinsky proposes is "a political movement whose object is to establish control over urban society by raising up from its ruins a power structure dictatorship based on slum dwellers."

Much of Alinsky's activity has been outside of the official federal "War on Poverty"; he's usually a few steps ahead, and to the left, of Washington. But he did serve as a $10,000-a-year "consultant" for one of the most controversial of the Community Action Programs which has been financed by the federal government—a project in Syracuse, N. Y., which that city's mayor, William F. Walsh, described as a training ground for "agitators" where pupils were taught the "Marxist doctrines of class conflict."

And on at least one occasion federal anti-poverty funds have been used to bail out Alinsky-organized and abetted demonstrators who wound up on the wrong side of the law.

OEO-Financed Strike

Another name that has popped into the "War on Poverty's" headlines rather obliquely is Cesar Chavez, organizer of the much publicized grape pickers' strike in California this year, one of the bitterest labor disputes in recent history. Chavez is an Alinsky protege. His deputy in the National Farm Workers Association, Luis Valdez, is a Cuba-trained Progressive Laborite.

Before Chavez, Valdez and their crew of agitators—including such Communists

Self-styled Socialist Michael Harrington was Shriver's chief "idea man" in setting up the "War on Poverty."

as Bettina Aptheker and California's CP boss Mickey Lima and such a notorious fellow-traveler as Patrick Hallinan of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs—moved in on the vineyards of Delano, there had been little trouble.

Their demand that the grape pickers be paid a minimum of $1.40 an hour was meaninglss and deceptive. Audited figures showed that adult males were averaging $2 to $2.50 an hour and even teen-agers were making $1.60. At Schenley's vineyard, the only major grower to sign a contract with the strikers, the average was $2.73.

As these facts would suggest, the strikers received little enthusiasm from the regular employes. For, patently, they were in Delano not to help the pickers, but to stir up trouble.

A little-known fact concerning the Delano strike is that it was conceived three years ago at a symposium held in Asilomar, sponsored by the Rosenberg Foundation. Not long ago, the foundation set up near Fresno the California Center for Community Development, which, in January of this year, received $243,000 in federal anti-poverty funds to teach farm workers "community dynamics." The center supplied organizers for the Delano strike.

Also little known is that fact that last October the Office of Economic Opportunity gave a direct grant of $268,000 to Cesar Chavez's NFWA "union" for a "self-help educational program among migrants." Thus more than half a million dollars in taxpayers' money has been spent to underwrite this particular labor in the vineyards of chaos and revolution.

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Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's office controls the appointments of 42 of the 75 representatives who run the city's Community Action Program.

The son of Joseph L. Rauh, ADA bigwig and Democratic national committeeman, holds a top-salaried job in Shriver's Washington headquarters.

In Boston, a Youth Corps employe spent part of his working days pushing the purchase of tickets to a fund-raising dinner for Mayor John Collins (above).

Dividing the Anti-Poverty Pie

Politicians, Patronage and the Poor

If the "War on Poverty's" supporters and critics agree on one thing, it is that the program has been used (or misused) and has enormous potential as a grab bag for patronage and other rewards by the politicians.

Even Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.), chief sponsor and custodian of anti-poverty projects in Congress, has conceded that the "War on Poverty" is a "giant fiesta of political patronage." Another arch-liberal, Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D.-Calif.), calls it "a war between the poor and the self-seeking politicians."

Shortly after the program got under way, the Johnson Administration delivered to every Democratic congressman a "poverty kit" for use in the 1964 election. Today, though the "War on Poverty" is supposed to be non-political and non-partisan, the Office of Economic Opportunity continues to operate as a virtual adjunct of the Democratic National Committee.

OEO officials have admitted that, whenever possible, members of Congress who are "friendly" to the Johnson Administration are given the opportunity to announce anti-poverty grants in their districts and states.

In dozens of instances, self-seeking politicians have shown that they are fully aware that the "War on Poverty" is, to use the left-wing *Progressive* magazine's definition, "the most promising urban patronage program to come down the pike in many a year."

Take Chicago, for example, where Mayor Daley's office controls the appointment of 42 out of 75 representatives on the local committee which operates the city's Community Action Program. This control has given Daley access to some $21 million in anti-poverty funds to oil his own political machine. The list of those running the "War on Poverty" in Chicago, says a director of a private charity, reads "like a fund-raising committee for the Democratic party."

If the "War on Poverty" hasn't done a great deal for the needy, it has at least enabled numerous Democratic politicians in the Windy City to move up to better salary brackets. A former Cook County welfare research director improved his financial lot by better than 50 per cent when he went on the payroll of the local anti-poverty program at $22,500 a year. His assistant, who is now making $15,156 a year, more than doubled his former salary of $6,300. Altogether, nearly 40 per cent of Chicago's $2.4-million-a-month "War on Poverty" has gone for "administrative" costs—most of it for salaries.

In Los Angeles, where the politicians have had an opportunity to cut up a $40-million anti-poverty pie, there has been considerable political infighting within the Democratic party over control of the loot. One of those chiefly responsible for handling the patronage is Joseph Wyatt, president of Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown's State Personnel Board and a past president of the left-wing California Democratic Council. Wyatt is still active in party affairs.

'Happy Pappy' Hoax

In Breathitt County, Ky., a $13-million anti-poverty grab bag has been tightly controlled by the political machine of Democratic Judge Ervine Turner and his family. The program is supposed to provide unemployed fathers in this sorely depressed area with "work experience and training." But, in fact, as the Washington *Star's* prize-winning reporter, Haynes Johnson, discovered, it is a hoax which people in the area have labeled the "Happy Pappy" program.

"No matter where you travel in the county," says Johnson, "you are told that if you want anything from a highway job to a poverty job, see the Turners."

To oil their political machine, the Turners for two years have been passing out $250 a month in tax-free federal funds, together with free medical care and below-cost food, to the county's unemployed fathers, or "Happy Pappies," who don't even have to come to town to pick up their checks. The program, says Johnson, doesn't cure poverty; it simply keeps people in Breathitt County who could get jobs elsewhere. And, of course, it also keeps the Turner machine in power.

In Miami, Fla., the local anti-poverty program has become a lucrative racket for at least one prominent and already well-heeled Democrat, Jack Gordon, a close friend of Vice President Hubert Humphrey. Gordon is a millionaire banker and lawyer, a member of the Dade County School Board and a member of the board which directs Miami's Equal Opportunities Program, Inc.

Soon after Gordon joined the EOPI board, his wife was hired as a $50-a-day "consultant," her sister was put on the payroll at $9,350 a year and two of Gordon's political cronies who worked on his school board election campaign also got anti-poverty jobs.

In New York, the wife of a leading Democrat and city judge was hired as a $65-a-day anti-poverty "consultant," and the deputy director of Sen. Robert Kennedy's 1964 election campaign wound up on the anti-poverty payroll at a salary of $26,000 a year.

Numerous other people with good political "connections" have been given top-salaried jobs in Sargent Shriver's Washington office—including B. Michael Rauh, the son of Joseph L. Rauh, former head of Americans for Democratic Action and presently Democratic National Committeeman for the District of Columbia.

In Connecticut, the state's anti-poverty chief, Joseph Dyer, had to remind local officials that the "War on Poverty" is supposed to be "a program for the poor, not a political seminar," after a number of Democratic party workers were added to the payroll. The warning hasn't been widely heeded.

As Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) has remarked: "Big city political bosses now tend to confuse the U.S. Treasury Department with their county campaign finance committees."

In Boston, for example, anti-poverty officials have engaged in flagrant political activities. A Youth Corps employe there was spending part of his working day making sure that firms which do business with the corps and the city bought tickets to a recent Democratic fund-raising dinner that netted $250,000 for Mayor John Collins' campaign treasury. This was only one of many abuses of the "War on Poverty" in Boston, where graft, mismanagement and political favoritism became so scandalous that more than $5 million in federal funds had to be held up pending an audit and investigation.

Among other things, investigators found that more than 130 young people had been given jobs in the city's Neighborhood Youth Corps program, though they were ineligible because the income of their families was well above the poverty standard. Most of the families, however, were well connected politically.

Teen-age patronage jobs, in fact, have become one of the richest political prizes in the anti-poverty pork barrel. The most flagrant and widespread abuse of this kind was found in the President's special summer job program for "needy" youngsters last year. Post Offices across the country were ordered to hire nearly 9,000 teen-agers from poor families who couldn't find work elsewhere.

An attempt by Republicans in Congress to make the list of those hired public was beaten back by Administration forces, but a thorough investigation by Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) revealed that 3,380 of the summer postal jobs—nearly 40 per cent—were filled through political patronage. Many truly needy youngsters were turned away, while the relatives of congressmen and lesser politicians were put on the payroll. Among those hired, at $2.29 an hour, were the son and niece of a millionaire senator.

On a smaller, but just as blatant scale, the same kind of patronage has been doled out in federally financed anti-poverty projects in dozens of cities.

In Carlinville, Ill., five Democratic ward leaders skipped church one Sunday to gather around the council table at city hall shortly after they got word that the city would begin recruiting teenagers the next day for a Neighborhood Youth Corps project.

By Sunday night, without consulting welfare agencies, and before the rest of the citizens of Carlinville even knew about the program, the Democratic ward heelers had signed up nearly 40 corpsmen. Eventually, they passed out 269 jobs at $173 a month—more than a private gets for fighting in Viet Nam—mostly to youngsters whose families voted "right." In fact, one of the ward leaders later tried to fire a corpsman whose parents were "suspected" of being Republicans.

One-Third Ineligible

Eventually, federal officials ordered nearly a third of the Carlinville corpsmen dropped because they were ineligible under OEO's poverty standards, but that still left the city's Democratic machine with nearly 200 of the 900 NYC jobs in the entire state of Illinois outside of Chicago.

One of the youngsters dropped from the program was the stepson of Robert Albertine, one of the five ward leaders who attended the Sunday recruiting session at city hall, who holds a $9,000-a-year patronage job himself at the statehouse in Springfield. Asked if he thought there was anything wrong with using anti-poverty funds for such blatant political patronage, Albertine replied: "To the victor goes the spoils, you know what I mean?"

In Rhode Island, matters were almost as bad. In Providence, not one of the 1,017 NYC enrollees was asked about his family's income. In North Providence half of the corpsmen came from families with incomes of $8,000 to $10,000 a year and up. In Jamestown, officials accepted everyone who applied, hired seven youngsters from wealthy families to give sailing lessons

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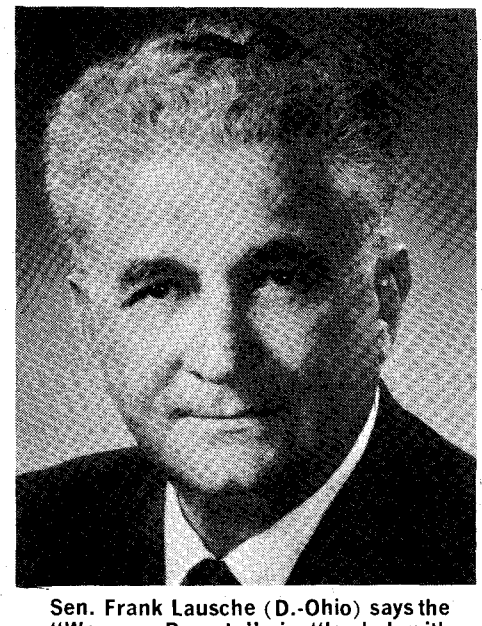

Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) says the "War on Poverty" is "loaded with the ability of political manipulation and deviousness."

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Building a New Political and Social Order

In addition to the patronage problem, both adult and juvenile, there has been widespread political abuse of many other sorts in the "War on Poverty."

One of the most glaring shenanigans was the leasing of a hotel in Charleston, W. Va., to serve as the center for a Women's Job Corps project.

OEO leased the Kanawha hotel in Charleston for $94,800 a year, despite the fact that an expert construction consultant retained by Sargent Shriver's office had recommended against the hotel's use—on two separate occasions—because the building was run down and unsuitable and too expensive to rehabilitate.

The hotel, however, happened to be owned by a prominent West Virginia Democrat, Angus Peyton, the state's commissioner of commerce and an unsuccessful candidate in 1964 for the State Senate.

In 1960, the hotel had been used as headquarters for the 1960 Democratic presidential campaign, and at the time was assessed at a total value of $87,000—less than the annual rent OEO agreed to pay to occupy it. More recent assessments place the value of the hotel as high as $250,000—but even at that, Peyton receives a guaranteed annual profit of nearly 40 per cent.

Moreover, OEO has already spent at least $225,000 making improvements on the hotel that will accrue to its owner when the lease is terminated. Anti-poverty funds are also being used to pay taxes, insurance, utilities, repairs, even the transportation, storage and personal property taxes on unused hotel furniture.

When Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) charged that the case had "obvious political implications" amounting to "another example of extravagant diversion of anti-poverty funds into the pockets of Democratic politicians," OEO's Deputy Director Bernard L. Boutin tried to justify the boondoggle by challenging Quie's statistics. Boutin claimed that "only" $187,000 had been spent renovating the Kanawha hotel.

100 Per Cent Profit

It later developed that the congressman had understated the case. The actual cost of renovation came to $345,000, and the total first year cost of operating the center amounted to nearly $500,000.

Another similar, if less expensive, case turned up recently in Coxton, Ky., where the taxpayers are being dunned $6,000 a year to rent a building for an anti-poverty project to rehabilitate parolees. The building's owner, James S. Cawood, purchased it only last year for $6,000 with the intention of leasing it to the government. His guaranteed annual profit, therefore, is 100 per cent.

Cawood's son also happens to be superintendent of the project, at a salary of $7,300 a year, and he has four assistants (including a cousin) on the payroll at a total of $23,724 a year. At last count there were only nine parolees participating in the program. "All parties concerned in the acquisition and leasing of the property," noted a reporter for the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, "agree that political considerations might be suggested." That's perhaps one of the safest bits of speculation ventured to date.

Much of the blame for political abuse in the "War on Poverty" has been laid at the doorstep of local government officials, who in many cases have been handed large federal anti-poverty grants to spend with few if any strings attached. Unquestionably, a large part of the responsibility properly rests there.

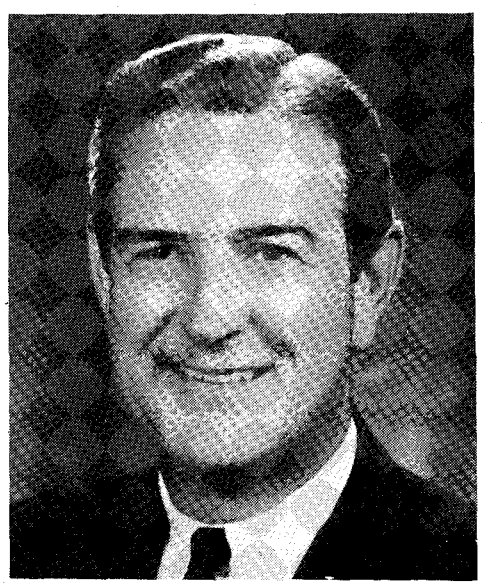
But federal officials have not been in the least bit reluctant to use anti-poverty projects and dollars for political purposes. And as often as not, the "War on Poverty" has been, politically, a war on city hall and the statehouse, frequently directed and almost always financed by Washington.

From the very outset, OEO showed political favoritism in the awarding of anti-poverty grants. West Virginia, commonly regarded as one of our poorest states, found itself far down the list in terms of dollar allotments. The President's home state of Texas, with five times as many people as West Virginia, got 23 times as much money. The biggest sums, of course, have gone to the vote-rich and politically pivotal states, or to congressional districts represented by politicians "friendly" to the Administration, or where it is thought a little extra money might secure such representation.

Anti-poverty funds and workers have been used in many cities for "voter registration" projects—principally in Democratic areas—and for eleventh-hour recruiting of "volunteers" among the elderly to sign up for Medicare. Often the poor have been organized with anti-poverty funds to fight city hall.

Mayors Miffed

Complaints have come from both Republicans and Democrats in New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Chicago, Rochester, San Francisco, Syracuse and elsewhere. In fact, last year at the annual meeting of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, the chief executives of the nation's cities came within a few votes of adopting a resolution which accused Sargent Shriver and his "War on Poverty" of "fostering class struggle" in their domain.



Gov. John Connally complains that anti-poverty money is being used to strengthen left-wing opposition within the Texas Democratic party.

In Syracuse, federally financed anti-poverty workers have engaged in a constant battle to embarrass and, if possible, defeat, Republican Mayor William Walsh.

A similar campaign has been waged against Los Angeles' relatively conservative Democratic Mayor Sam Yorty, and anti-poverty funds were used in a drive to impeach a city councilman. In Newark, N.J., the head of the local anti-poverty agency vowed to "alter the power structure of the city" and the agency's vice president ran for mayor. In Pittsburgh, anti-poverty workers boasted that they were "building a whole new political substructure here."

And in Texas, even the President's close friend and political ally, Gov. John Connally, has complained that anti-poverty funds have been used to strengthen left-wing opposition within his own party. A few months ago, for example, an anti-poverty "voter registration" project in San Antonio was conducted with the avowed purpose of strengthening the political power of the Bexar County liberal coalition. As a result of the campaign, dozens of Mexican nationals—ineligible to vote in this country—were induced to register.

Not long ago, Gov. Connally threat-

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At an April 1966 meeting of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, Sargent Shriver was virtually hooted down by dissident delegates who wanted the government to spend more than it already is.

Continued from Opposite Page

Politics, Patronage and the Poor

to equally "underprivileged" children and explained later that they didn't bother to check into eligibility requirements because "everyone knew it [poverty] didn't exist" in the community.

Similarly, in Cranston, anti-poverty officials said they didn't know the program was for the poor until it had been in operation for several months. In Warwick, two city officials were placed on the payroll. In Johnston, the sons of five town employes and the daughter of the police chief were put on the payroll.

And in Newport and Middletown, the children of many prominent and wealthy families with political connections—including a girl whose parents owned three homes, another who lived in a $60,000 house and the daughter of an anti-poverty project director—were given jobs. At the same time, however, a number of youngsters who were really poor were turned away, the excuse being that there was a scarcity of jobs.

In Wilmington, Del., Omaha, Kansas City and Los Angeles, to cite a few additional examples, the story has been the same. More than 90 per cent of the youths given jobs in the Omaha NYC program were ineligible. Only 10 of 153 hired came from families whose annual incomes were less than $4,000, though many poor youths were excluded.

In Wilmington, 15 of the corpsmen were closely related to government officials and/or public employes. In Kansas City more than half of the participants were ineligible, including one student who drove to his job in a brand-new sports car and another whose grandfather was a high-ranking official in the municipal government. In Los Angeles one anti-poverty official conceded that up to 70 per cent of those employed in the Youth Corps would be excluded if the family income standard for poverty were enforced.

"It is a serious question," he said, "as to whether we could find 13,000 youths for the program who would meet the federal criteria."

Over-all, the national director of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Jack Howard, has conceded that as many as one fourth of the half million or so who have been enrolled in the program to date may have been ineligible. That's a pretty thick slice out of the patronage pie.

Washington has begun cracking down on this kind of abuse, but it is worth noting that federal officials didn't think strict enforcement of income standards was necessary at the outset, and nothing was done until well after the situation had already become scandalous and widely publicized—and until after perhaps well over 100,000 jobs had been handed out, not to the needy, but to youngsters who, together with their parents, might be expected to repay the favor later at the polls.

Ohio's Democratic Sen. Frank J. Lausche could hardly be accused of exaggeration when he summed up the "War on Poverty" last year: "In my whole political career," said Lausche, "I have never seen a program so loaded with the ability of political manipulation and deviousness."

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Continued from Preceding Page

Building a New Political Order

ened to pull Texas out of the "War on Poverty." Many governors and mayors share his lack of enthusiasm for the program. For when Washington has not been fostering or abetting a war on city hall or the statehouse, often as not it has been bypassing them.

Many cities and states have had projects foisted upon them that they neither needed nor desired, and only with great difficulty have a few of them been able to block these programs or have them transferred elsewhere.

Project Headstart, probably the least controversial and most widely accepted program in the "War on Poverty," has caused some concern. Though it is an educational program, neither local nor state education officials have any control over its operation.

When Headstart got under way, North Carolina already had a similar program in operation which it wanted to expand. Federal officials turned down a request for anti-poverty funds to subsidize the existing program, which was costing a mere $30 per child. Instead, they preferred their own program which cost $170 per child—almost six times as much—and left control in the hands of Washington.

Similarly, OEO vetoed a training program in San Francisco which the local school district proposed to operate, in favor of a more expensive program which would provide training for only half as many people.

Remedies Rejected

Most of the political abuses and shenanigans in the "War on Poverty"—at least the most blatant of them—could have been prevented by a few simple and well-enforced rules, if the war's generals in Washington had honestly wished to keep the program free of politics.

Instead, they have repeatedly opposed such obvious remedies as placing anti-poverty workers under the Hatch Act or setting reasonable limits on their salaries to discourage misuse of the program for patronage.

Abuse could also have been curbed—and still might be—with proper exposure and punishment of the guilty. But repeated efforts in Congress by Republicans to conduct a thorough and objective investigation of the "War on Poverty" have been shouted down time after time by Democrats who fear that such a probe would be highly embarrassing to the Johnson Administration.

The single "investigation" to date has been conducted by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's House Labor Committee, which was granted $230,000 for a city-by-city inquiry into the program's operation. Shortly after the probe began, Powell's assistant, C. Summer Stone, told reporters: "We have uncovered evidence so hot I have to keep it locked up in a safe."

If so, the evidence is likely to remain there. For Powell mysteriously called an abrupt halt to the probe early this year and cancelled public hearings after calling only Administration spokemen and apologists for the program as witnesses, meanwhile refusing to call a single one of the 54 witnesses requested by Republicans on the committee.

The $23,000 allotted for the investigation apparently has been spent, but no accounting has yet been made. House rules require all investigation committees to file monthly reports on their activities and expenditures, but many months after Powell's investigation was launched, his committee had not filed a single report.

In fact, Powell's blatant attempt to sweep the findings of the costly inquiry under the rug was bitterly blasted by the House Rules Committee in a majority report released in mid-July. The committee openly criticized his handling of the $1.75-billion poverty bill and accused him of intentionally hiding the results of the investigation which he headed. Several Rules Committee members indicated their intention to ask Powell about the findings of the study, obviously wondering why he found it necessary to hide.

Whitewash Expected

Even the members of the committee had no idea where the money had gone or what, if anything, had been uncovered. If a report is ever issued, no one but the most naive expects it to be anything but a whitewash of the "War on Poverty." Putting Powell in charge of an investigation into the political manipulation and mismanagement of a government program is akin to asking a fox to guard the chicken coop.

Instead of tightening the rules or conducting meaningful investigation into the "War on Poverty," many people have been demanding that the poor themselves be given control of the program, to take it out of the hands of the politicians. This is hardly the answer.

In the first place, few genuinely poor people are interested in running the program. Sargent Shriver found that out in a costly experiment last fall when he directed that more than $100,000 be spent to conduct "elections" in more than a half-dozen cities to pick "representatives of the poor" to serve on local anti-poverty boards.

In only one of the cities, Huntsville, Ala., did the turn-out of eligible voters (people whose incomes were below the poverty standard) exceed 6 per cent. The most embarrassing election took place in Los Angeles, where a mere 2,659 voters—less than 1 per cent of the eligible "constituency"—bothered to cast ballots.

No Rival for Riots

Syndicated columnist Morrie Ryskind offered one explanation for the disappointing turn-out, noting that many poor people may have preferred to stay at home since welfare checks were due on the same day the election took place. He also spotted the fact that the number of voters was well below the 4,000 arrested during the Watts rioting, commenting waggishly that clearly "Watts offered more excitement."

A total of $61,000 had been spent to conduct the Los Angeles election—which adds up to precisely $22.94 per vote. Surely no one could challenge Sargent Shriver's summary that "We don't believe we received our money's worth in these elections."

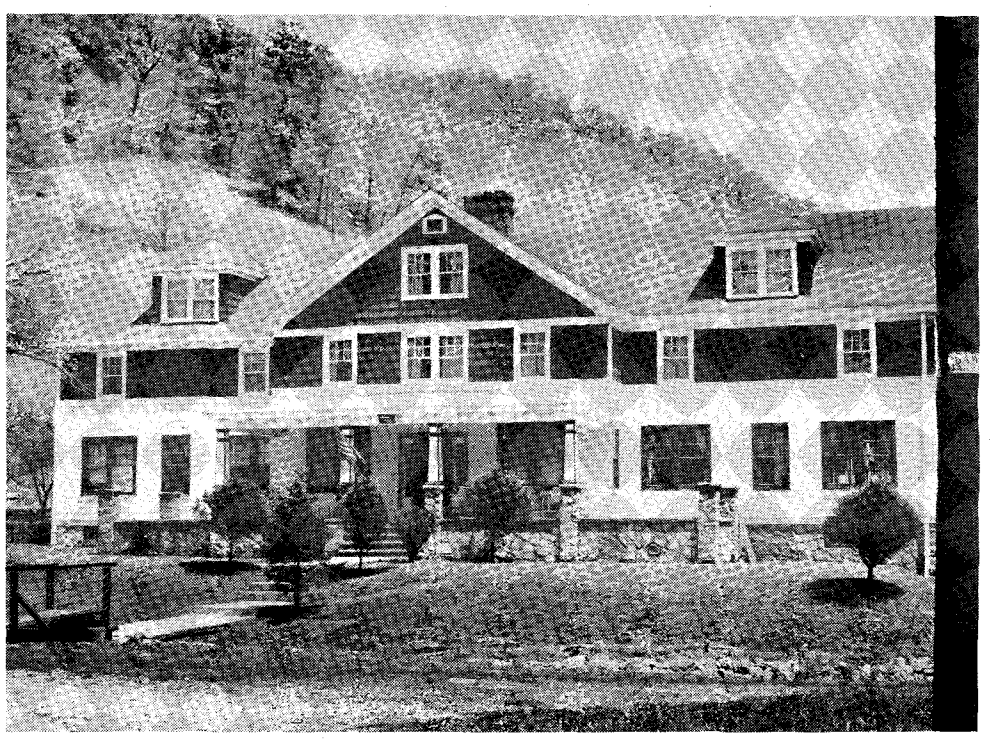
If the poor are not particularly interested in running the "War on Poverty," neither are they able to do so. We don't turn hospitals over to the sick or schools over to the students.

"Asking the poor how to win the 'War on Poverty,'" remarked columnist Art Buchwald, "is like asking the Japs how to win World War II." Or, as columnist Russell Kirk has suggested: "If the present American poor knew how to escape from poverty, they wouldn't need a lavish federal program of assistance. They would be affluent already."

Not long ago, a Chicago woman on welfare who has 11 children (three of whom are under six years of age, though she hasn't seen her husband in nine years) was appointed to serve on Sargent Shriver's "advisory council" for the "War on Poverty." Some might say that the woman is obviously some sort of "expert" on poverty. But, as Paul Harvey notes, "The fact that you have measles does not make you a doctor."

Harvey submits that "If, in the administration of these millions, we have to choose between professional politicians and persons who are totally inexperienced in money management, we are confronted with a Hobson's choice. Either is worse than the other."

Representation of poor people on agencies controlling how anti-poverty funds are to be spent may be useful. But turning over control of the program to them is quite another matter. The money that is being spent belongs to the taxpayers, and they have every right to expect that their elected officials be put in charge of how and where it is spent.



American taxpayers are shelling out $6,000 a year rent for this building in Coxton, Ky., which cost its owner only $6,000 when he bought it in June 1965. See page 11 for further details.

More and more, however, control over the "War on Poverty" has been shifted in the opposite direction. Elected officials at all government levels have been bypassed with ever-increasing frequency. Even the veto power over specific projects, originally given to the governors, was taken away last year, despite the fact that the governors of 49 of the 50 states opposed the change (and nobody could complain that the veto power had been abused, as only three governors had ever exercised it.)

Anti-poverty funds, and the control over them, have been channeled increasingly to politically active, but autonomous groups over which neither state and local nor federal officials are able to exercise much control.

Such groups have sponsored the most radical and often politically irresponsible activities in the "War on Poverty." They have not only engaged in open combat against the statehouse and city hall, but they have been used, as even the liberal New York *Times* concedes, as "launching pads for systematic political warfare against . . . all established society."

With increasing regularity, agitators and demagogues among the poor have even turned against Sargent Shriver and his federal anti-poverty warriors, booing and heckling them at a recent Washington rally of Walter Reuther's "Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty," for example.

He Asked for It

But Shriver has only himself to blame. "His hecklers were the very activists his rhetoric has spawned," noted the *New Republic*. You can't forever sow the seeds of chaos and anarchy, and water them with promises beyond all capacity to produce, and not expect somebody to wonder when the miracles are going to happen.

One of the most cynical, if perhaps logical, comments on the anti-poverty program to date, was offered by Charles E. Siberman in a recent *Fortune* magazine article entitled "The Mixed-Up 'War on Poverty.'"

Siberman suggested that, in the last analysis, it doesn't really matter much to the bureaucrats whether or not the program is successful. Their major purpose, he concluded, is to spawn a permanent lobby of poor people and their leaders who will constantly bring pressure to bear on the government to expand the welfare state.

This, of course, would insure the bureaucrats' jobs and guarantee them more money and projects to administer. "It is the best thing that's happened to social workers since the New Deal was established," he remarked.

With respect to Siberman's conclusion, the Chicago *Tribune* commented: "Now you've got it—the 'War on Poverty' isn't an end in itself. It is a means to another end, and that end is bigger government, bigger spending, bigger bureaucracy through the creation of a class dependent on government which, by reason of government subsidies, becomes powerful enough in itself to compel government to do just what government wants to do anyway—namely, to extend its own dimensions and power. So all the fancy sociological talk in which the 'War on Poverty' is wrapped up and packaged for public consumption is vapid. The war is not intended to free anybody; it is intended to enchain its subjects and to mobilize them as a lobby in support of the welfare state."

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OEO Misses the Target

Growing Number of Americans Find: It Pays to Be 'Poor'

Not a few hard-working taxpayers were shocked to read, some months ago, about the case of Ozie Bulock, an unemployed auto worker in Detroit, who was drawing $160 a week tax-free from two federal anti-poverty programs. Before he hitched a ride on the "Great Society's" gravy train, Bulock had never made more than $104 a week working full time. And some people wonder why more and more Americans are discovering that it pays to be poor.

Bulock's case, of course, was only a mistake, according to anti-poverty officials, the result of a social worker's error. He should only have been getting $132 a week from one anti-poverty program, they said, not mentioning that even that amount is more than twice the minimum wage for full-time employment and still well above what Bulock had previously been able to earn.

Who can deny that this kind of solution destroys every incentive in many a man, except the incentive to head for the nearest spigot on the public trough?

Ozie Bulock isn't the only one who's found that the living can be easy on the poverty dole. Some 50 New York slum dwellers who complained to anti-poverty officials that they weren't getting enough heat in their apartments last January wound up with posh accommodations at the Astor, one of New York's finest hotels.

It was supposed to take only a couple of days to get the heat in their apartments turned back on, but more than a month later, in March, 37 of the 50 were still staying at the Astor, having their beds made by chambermaids and getting $9 a day for meals. The only people left out in the cold were the taxpayers who had to pick up the tab.

Some welfare programs have been so generous that even the "War on Poverty" has had trouble finding recruits for projects which involve work.

In West Virginia an anti-poverty project to provide jobs for unemployed coal miners went broke, and Uncle Sam lost approximately a million dollars, largely because the people it was supposed to help found that they could make practically as much money standing on the street corner waiting for unemployment checks and other welfare handouts.

Jobs Go Begging

In Baltimore, a Neighborhood Youth Corps project signed up 178 youngsters for $1.25-an-hour make-work jobs after an intensive recruiting drive. But only 27 of the 178 bothered to show up for work.

In their recently published book, *Pass the Poverty Please*, Patty Newman and Joyce Wenger note that at the campus employment office of a junior college in Pasadena, Calif., 50 jobs a week were being turned down by students because they were too "dirty." Now the students can get $1.40 an hour doing cleaner but unessential tasks under an anti-poverty grant awarded to the college.

Also in Pasadena, the authors reported that a $300,000 anti-poverty project to provide jobs for poor people had not a single applicant after six weeks of extensive publicity in what is supposed to be one of the worst poverty areas of Los Angeles County.

"Where are the poor?" asked the local newspaper, commenting that "It's a real dilemma—a surprising turn in fighting a war in which no enemy shows itself."

The enemy will soon be flushed out into the open, if anti-poverty bureaucrats and lobbyists have their way. Already, a great deal of money and effort is being expended to inform the poor of every possible welfare benefit available.

And to make things even easier, anti-poverty officials are now planning to establish welfare and social service "supermarkets," where one call does all. At such a "supermarket," welfarers could pick up Social Security, aid-to-dependent children and unemployment checks, get free legal aid, consumer advice, child guidance, vocational training, medical and psychiatric help and a variety of other such services—everything, in short, but trading stamps.

There are so many welfare programs available today that *U.S. News & World Report* recently concluded that it no longer pays for many people to work. The magazine found that a man who has a wife and three children and earns $5,000 a year would be able to have the same standard of living if he quit his job and went on the federal dole permanently.

It's no wonder, the magazine concluded, that the number of people on welfare continues to increase at a frightening pace (almost three times as fast as population growth since World War II), even though business is booming and jobs go begging.

"It's no disgrace to be poor," remarked the Mason City (Iowa) *Globe-Gazette*. "In fact, it may turn out to be the only way to make a living nowadays."

You don't have to be poor, however, to qualify for anti-poverty funds. Sargent Shriver's warriors have already made plenty of headlines by passing out anti-poverty grants to rich and often reluctant cities and towns.

The sum of $37,964 went to Garden City, N.Y., a wealthy suburb where the median family income is $14,000 and the median value of homes is $30,500. Not one family in Garden City qualified as "poor" by federal anti-poverty standards, but the grant was justified by saying that the money could be used to help "educationally" if not "economically" deprived children.

Beverly Hills, Calif., one of the wealthiest communities in America and the home of many of Hollywood's stars, was told that it could have $82,875 in anti-poverty funds because someone reported that it had 435 poor families living there.

Los Angeles *Times* columnist Paul Coates said he was able to locate one poor fellow who was two months behind in his Playboy Club dues, and a civic survey turned up six families which could possibly be classified as needy. The city fathers decided to pass up the grant.

In Orinda, Calif., whose citizens have an average income of $13,000 a year, $47,754 in anti-poverty money was allocated. Though no actual cases of poverty could be found in Orinda, the money was used to start a remedial reading program. The city did have some poor readers.

Last year, the board of supervisors of Tomkins County, N.Y. (Ithaca), rejected an offer from Sen. Robert F. Kennedy to get some anti-poverty money for the county. Ithaca's mayor said that per capita income in the area was among the highest in the nation, and besides, since it was a major vacation spot, it could hardly afford to advertise to tourists that it was a depressed area.

Federal anti-poverty officials tried to force a job-creation project on Shelbyville, Ind., even though city officials didn't want the money and claimed that no unemployment existed there.

Boone County, Ind., likewise rejected participation in the "War on Poverty" in favor of a local program, and Hendricks County, Ind., also turned down federal aid after discovering that Shriver's office had been peddling false statistics to prove that the county needed assistance.

In Cleveland, Ohio, half of a $6-million grant had to be returned because the city couldn't use all the money. And in Jamestown, R.I., OEO sent the town $17,000 more than it requested.

Where's Danville?

Recently, over-zealous anti-poverty officials in Washington drew up a plan to get a $116,000 program started in Danville, Ind., only to find out that their statistics didn't even come close to matching conditions in that city. They decided they'd made a mistake, that the grant was really intended for Danville, Ill., but the glass slipper didn't fit there either.

A frantic check with the Census Bureau showed that OEO's profile didn't match any of the six Danvilles in the country. It was close enough to conditions in Danville, Va., however, so that city became the surprised but happy beneficiary of the largess.

Lest anyone suspect that these are but a few atypical examples of how the "War on Poverty" has been conducted to date, a recent report by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations should set the matter straight.

Among the commission's findings was the rather astonishing discovery that the "War on Poverty" is today giving more money to the 100 richest counties in America than it is giving to the 100 poorest counties.

In theory, the "War on Poverty" began with the goal of locating the nation's poor people and then proceeding to raise them above the level of poverty. In far too many instances it has merely found "poor" people who don't really exist.

Some of the not-so-poor people and areas it has discovered have said thanks, but no thanks, there must be some mistake. All too often, however, they have gratefully accepted the handout, rationalizing that they might as well grab while the grabbing is good.

Encouraged by bureaucrats who compete with each other to see who can give away the most money the fastest, they have been led to believe that everybody, not just the poor, should take advantage of all the anti-poverty dollars offered or available.

The practice has led more than a few people to ask whether the "War on Poverty's" warriors are hitting their target or merely wounding the taxpayers.

Nice Loan, If You Can Get It

A Detroit couple with a combined annual income of $11,000 and a new Lincoln Continental received a $25,000 loan from Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity as a showcase to start Detroit's "War on Poverty." Mrs. Pattie Hawkins (above) was granted the loan to open a combination sandwich shop-shoe repair shop and import-export store in a depressed area of the nation's auto capital. Poverty warriors admit the loan was rushed through so a "kickoff" ceremony could be held, attended by high state and federal officials. Later, guidelines came down from Washington setting a combined annual income of $2,985 as the ceiling (since raised by OEO to $4,490) for this type of loan. The Detroit News reported that Mrs. Hawkins assured Total Action Against Poverty (the city's anti-poverty agency) that the shop would provide jobs for 10 to 17 persons who were chronically unemployed, but only four were working at last count. Although the grant was to help combat unemployment, Mrs. Hawkins' husband left his job with Ford Motor Co. to help get the business started, and later wound up unemployed.

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The Job Corps 'Philosophy'

How Not to Combat Juvenile Idleness, Delinquency

The Job Corps, like every other program in the "War on Poverty," was launched with a maximum of haste and a minimum of thought and planning. The result: It has produced only a fraction of what it promised, though it has cost many times what was originally estimated. And few if any programs, within or without the poverty battlefield, can rival it for bungling, mismanagement and scandal.

A year ago, Sargent Shriver told Congress that 64,000 youths would be enrolled in 163 centers by June 30, 1966. Barely a third of that number were enrolled in fewer than 100 camps when the target date came and passed. And yet, while accomplishing far less than its sponsors boasted, the Job Corps' cost has soared from $54 million in its first year to $240 million in its second—nearly five times as much. The third-year cost is expected to exceed $350 million.

Training Costs Soar

Originally, Shriver also told Congress that the cost of training each Job Corpsman would come to $4,800 per year—which many regarded as rather extravagant, since that far exceeded the cost of educating a youngster at the best and most expensive private colleges and universities.

But recently Shriver's office admitted that the actual cost of training exceeds $13,000 per year per corpsman—nearly three times as much! And many have claimed that the cost is even higher.

The broad purpose behind the Job Corps was to combat juvenile idleness and irresponsibility, to give misdirected and aimless youths a chance to help themselves. But one of the major causes of idleness and lack of initiative today is the growing tendency among too many of our people to dump their own problems and responsibilities in the eager lap of their generous Uncle Sam.

Instead of encouraging young people to become more self-reliant, however, Washington came up with its usual prescription for everything: more government, another welfare program. The inevitable result can only foster a new generation of wards and welfarers. How can those who need to learn the lesson most be taught to adjust to a life of hard work and self-reliance, thrift and initiative, if they are started on the welfare road at such a tender age?

Another basic purpose behind the Job Corps was to combat the growing problem of high school dropouts. But the state of New Jersey has already dropped out of the Job Corps program precisely because it has been aggravating, not solving, the school dropout problem.

In New Jersey—and no doubt many other states—students who otherwise might not have done so began quitting school to join the Job Corps where there would be far less study and a paycheck to boot. Even a top Administration official has admitted that this is the case.

John W. Macy Jr., chairman of the Civil Service Commission, recently proclaimed that the anti-poverty program has been so "successful" that "many of these young people have, for the first time in their lives, experienced the satisfaction of meaningful employment and a steady income. Consequently, some of them may now want to drop out of school so they remain employed."

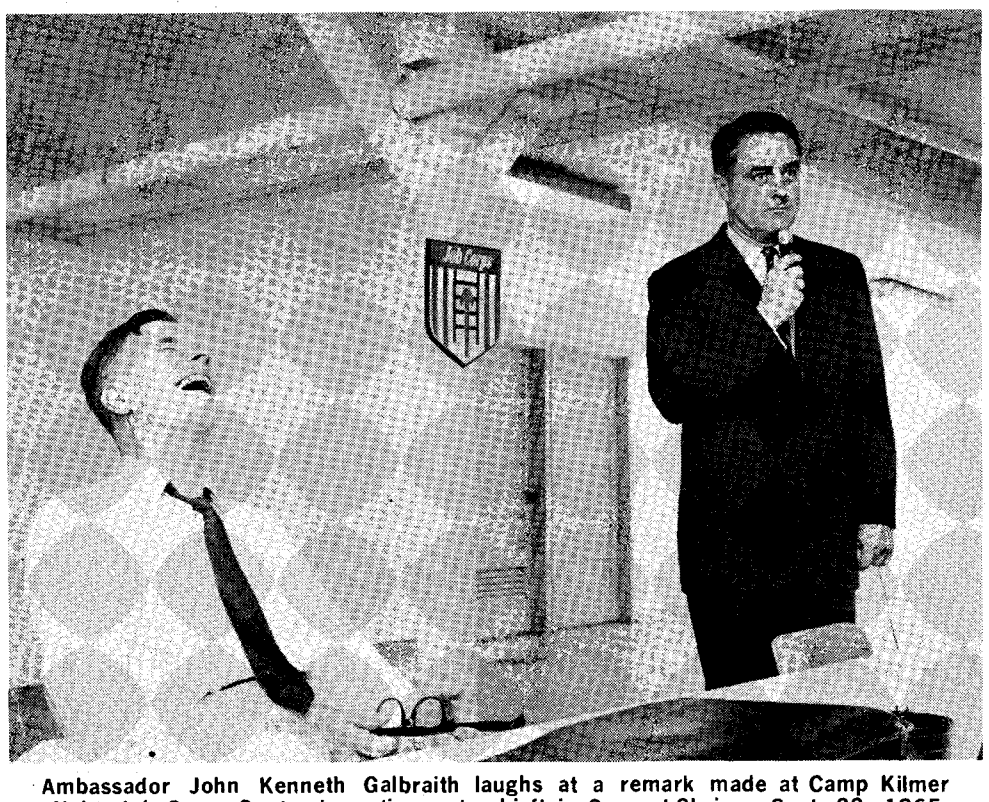
The Job Corps, of course, has had a dropout problem of its own. The number of corpsmen who have quit the program before completing their training stands at approximately 25 per cent—and at some camps it has been much higher.

The reasons for such a high dropout rate are varied. Among them is the fact that life in the camps is far less stimulating than the young enrolees had been promised. Often the tasks and training they are given are pure make-work, preparing them for jobs for which there is no demand. Few of the people running the camps have had extensive experience dealing with young people—particularly the undisciplined kind of youngsters who tend to make up the vast majority of Job Corps enrollees.

The result has been an atmosphere of chaos at the camps, where the corpsmen themselves are the bosses, doing pretty much what they want to do. Class attendance at many centers has been poor, trainees showing up when and if they choose.

A woman who recently resigned from a Women's Job Corps center in Florida charged that the program was failing to prepare youngsters to earn a living and face the world by making it too easy for them. The center, she claimed, was "run like a country club."

The girls with whom she worked were given $100 worth of clothing, $30 a month in spending money, $50 a month in the bank, a shuttle bus to take them to and from classes only a few blocks away and to the beach, and 20 household employes were hired to do the household work for them, so that they wouldn't even have to make their own beds.



Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith laughs at a remark made at Camp Kilmer (N.J.) Job Corps Center by anti-poverty chieftain Sargent Shriver, Sept. 22, 1965. Few taxpayers will appreciate the joke, since the government is presently spending about $13,000 per year per corpsman.

Corpsmen Run Camps

And while Job Corpsmen lead a far more comfortable, less hazardous existence than men their same age who are fighting in the rice paddies of Viet Nam, they are also better compensated.

Soon after the program was launched, Americans were shocked to read the story of two brothers: One, a model youngster who finished first in his class in high school, was drafted to risk his life in Viet Nam at $78 a month; the other, a school dropout who had beaten up his mother and teachers, joined the Job Corps for some leaf raking on a golf course at $178 per month.

Congressmen Albert H. Quie of Minnesota and Charles E. Goodell of New York in a joint statement charged that "the philosophy of Job Corps officials is so ridiculously soft and confused that they will excuse almost any behavior by an enrollee, even if it jeopardizes the chance of other enrollees to succeed."

The ridiculously soft attitude is reflected in current camp instructions which specify that formal discipline must be kept to a minimum.

This, of course, has been a major factor in encouraging the continuous atmosphere of disorder and riot for which the Job Corps centers have become notorious. And, in turn, this chaos has contributed to the dropout problem, for many corpsmen have been forced to flee camps literally to save their lives.

Rather than weed out the instigators of trouble or discipline them—for that would go against the soft philosophy and might reduce enrollment — Job Corps officials have put up with great abuse. Noted the *Christian Science Monitor*, "there is considerable pressure [from Washington] on Job Corps centers to keep the dropout statistics low, and thus keep offenders on."

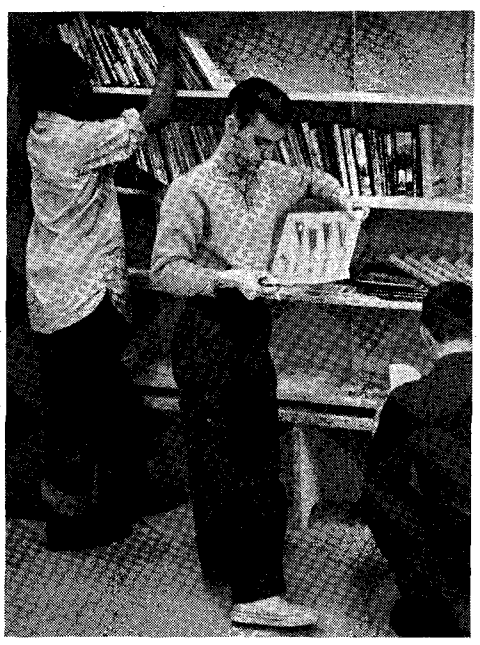
The constant rationalization and condoning of abuse by officials hasn't helped to improve matters. Not long ago, *Time* magazine quoted an OEO spokesman as follows: "Some corpsmen get drunk on weekends, but the problem is no more than on a college campus. We had some problems in the sodomy line, but it's expected when men are together. It is part of human nature."

With an attitude like that on the part of officials, how in the world can anyone expect conditions at the Job Corps camps to improve? The remark is an open invitation for more trouble.

Offenders Kept On

There is no denying the fact that the vast majority of youths admitted to the Job Corps come from the seamier side of society, many from broken homes. They are, for the most part, tough and incorrigible. But the Job Corps' original idea was to remold these youngsters. Certainly the first step in any such process would be to recognize that what they need, perhaps more than anything else, is discipline, leadership and guidance, not coddling, excessive leniency and excuse-making when they have broken the basic rules of order and decency.

The discipline problem, of course, began as usual with the rush by Washington to get things going in a hurry. Because Job Corps officials wanted to sign up as many youngsters as they could in the shortest time possible, careful screening of applicants was ruled out of the question. As a result, they have



Job Corpsmen study in Camp Kilmer Job Corps Center library.

little idea which of their charges may have had serious criminal records before entering the corps.

An indication of how careless the screening process has been is the fact that applicants and enrollees haven't even been fingerprinted—a standard procedure for members of the armed services and all other government workers.

Several months ago, Charles H. Stoddard, director of the Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management, which operates six Job Corps camps, clashed with Shriver's OEO over the problem of screening. He had sent an order to the camp directors instructing them to send home corpsmen whose records indicated a history of serious offense and to refuse admission to applicants likely to cause trouble.

Screening Rejected

Stoddard was quickly overruled. Even though the Job Corps has been given a black eye by dozens of trainees with prior criminal records who have committed serious offenses after joining the corps, top anti-poverty officials have consistently refused to tighten up their screening practices.

Remarked Stoddard bitterly after his order was rescinded: "I have exhausted every channel of communication to urge OEO to establish reception centers as a means of screening misfits . . . we've been talking to them for a year and getting nowhere."

When the Job Corps was launched, Washington was so anxious to sign up trainees that it began the practice of paying "bounty hunters" $75 a head for every "acceptable recruit" they could enlist, a practice that struck Sen. Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.) as being "almost like a slave market."

One might have thought that for that price the worst misfits could have been weeded out. Obviously they haven't. And, naturally, when recruiters were being paid by the head for every trainee signed up, they had no incentive to do any weeding. The more recruits they enlisted the more money they made.

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This furniture store window was broken by rioting Job Corpsmen in Kalamazoo, Mich., on Nov. 12, 1965. The riot started when a Job Corpsman tried to cut in on a local youth at a teen-age dance.

Job Corps Violence: A Brief Run-Down

Taking into consideration the fact that there are fewer than 100 Job Corps centers in operation, the number of riots, brawls and other unsavory incidents that have scandalized this phase of the "War on Poverty" is truly astonishing.

Violence of one sort or another—in many cases involving serious crimes—has occurred at nearly all of these centers, both urban and rural, male and female. And all too often repeated violence has erupted again and again at several of the larger camps.

Many incidents have gone unreported, been played down or nipped in the bud. And, as the *Christian Science Monitor* noted recently, there have also been "numerous incidents involving Job Corpsmen who have been stealing personal and government property. These stories never reach the public's notice."

Law of the Jungle

Following is a brief but by no means complete list of some of the major incidents largely responsible for the Job Corps' image as a federal reformatory for dropouts and delinquents, where the law of the jungle prevails:

• San Antonio, Tex.—Five trainees from nearby Camp Gary were arrested and charged with the shooting of two airmen. Although the airmen—and for that matter, even members of Congress—would be denied federal assistance if similarly charged, each of the five corpsmen was provided with his own lawyer at the taxpayers' expense. Two others from Camp Gary were accused of beating up an MP in Harlingen, Tex., and a third who got mixed up in a brawl was stabbed to death. As of last October, 130 Job Corpsmen at Camp Gary—located just 40 miles from the LBJ Ranch and personally dedicated by President Johnson, who considers it a "showpiece" in his "War on Poverty"—had been arrested on various charges.

• Camp Atterbury, Ind.—After an all-night drinking spree, two trainees returned to camp and beat up officials so badly they required medical treatment. The following day two more were taken into custody when found with marijuana. Seven others have been charged with sodomy. A berserk trainee poured lighter fluid on a fellow corpsman and set fire to him. Seven others fled the camp when their lives were threatened. And 20 were expelled after they staged a drunken riot in the camp chapel.

Rationalizing all this violence at Atterbury, Deputy Job Corps Director Christopher Weeks in Washington had this to say: "Many Job Corpsmen feel they are not welcome in the communities adjacent to Atterbury. If they are rejected, they act accordingly—and *who can blame them?*". (emphasis added).

• Kalamazoo, Mich.—150 trainees from the nearby Fort Custer Job Corps camp staged a wild riot which required 100 policemen to quell. They turned over cars, damaged 19 buildings and cleaned out several jewelry stores. A dozen were arrested and trainees from the camp were banned from the city. They were also banned from Battle Creek, Mich., after engaging in a street fight there with knives, chains and clubs.

• Billings, Mont.—A trainee on leave from a Job Corps camp attacked a policeman in a barroom and shot an innocent bystander in the leg. Anti-poverty officials bailed him out, posting a $2,500 bond, and retained a lawyer for his defense and appeal if needed. Although a soldier involved in an incident of this kind would be court-martialed and discharged from the service, the trainee wasn't even expelled from the camp or corps. Later he went AWOL, stole a car, ran a policeman off a highway and collided with another car—killing a woman and her four-year-old child and injuring three others.

No Punishment

• Mountain Home, Idaho—A trainee who had three felony convictions prior to being admitted to the Job Corps beat and stabbed a fellow corpsman. He was charged with assault with a deadly weapon, but anti-poverty officials refused to cooperate with the prosecuting attorney, and a telegram was even dispatched from Washington asking that the trainee be returned to camp without punishment.

• Poughkeepsie, N.Y.—Eight trainees were arrested on charges ranging from possession of narcotics to possession of deadly weapons.

• Tongue Point, Oreg.—Gov. Mark Hatfield had to request more security forces to put down a riot by 500 trainees in a Job Corps dormitory.

• New Bedford, Mass.—Police called to Rodman Job Corps Center were pelted with rocks, iron pipes and other missiles. One trainee fired a gun into a police car. The city council, in a unanimous resolution, asked that the center be taken out of the community, charging that it had created a "state of fear" and constituted a threat to public safety. Corpsmen at the center have been arrested repeatedly for disorderly conduct, assault and battery and drunkenness.

• Kingsport, Tenn.—Warrants were issued for two trainees, charging them with bludgeoning two victims with a lead pipe.

• Casper, Wyo.—Two trainees—both of whom had criminal records in other states before they were admitted to the Job Corps—were involved in the theft of an auto. The local county assistant attorney termed the center a "junior penal farm."

• New Haven, Conn.—A 16-year-old trainee was arrested for possession of marijuana, but was quickly bailed out by Job Corps officials who have been teaching him "business education."

• Lewiston, Calif.—Local officials charged that the community has been "terrorized" by corpsmen, many of whom were prison parolees when assigned to the camp.

• McCook, Neb.—After a fight in a camp mess hall, eight corpsmen were expelled. Less than three weeks later another fight broke out at the camp, injuring 12 and hospitalizing two.

• Breckinridge, Ky.—A full-scale riot, involving 500 of the camp's 650 corpsmen, took officials, local firemen, federal marshals, FBI agents and state troopers to stop. Some of the camp's bullies had also been operating a "protection" racket, requiring weaker corpsmen to pay $13.50 per month in "life insurance."

The Weaker Sex?

At the handful of Women's Job Corps centers, there has also been plenty of trouble:

• Charleston, W. Va.—Police reported that girls enrolled at the local center had set up an organized ring of prostitution. Several were accused of Lesbianism, one trainee slashed another girl across the chest with a razor and four have been arrested as drunk and disorderly, two for shoplifting, two for prostitution. Calvin R. Hobart, director of the Charleston center, told reporters that OEO officials in Washington seldom allow him to expel girls—even those guilty of repeated misconduct.

• Chicago—Ten women were arrested at a marijuana party immediately following their graduation from a training program for practical nurses, financed by anti-poverty funds. One official expressed concern over the fact that the program had trained the girls for one of the few jobs which would provide them with access to drugs.

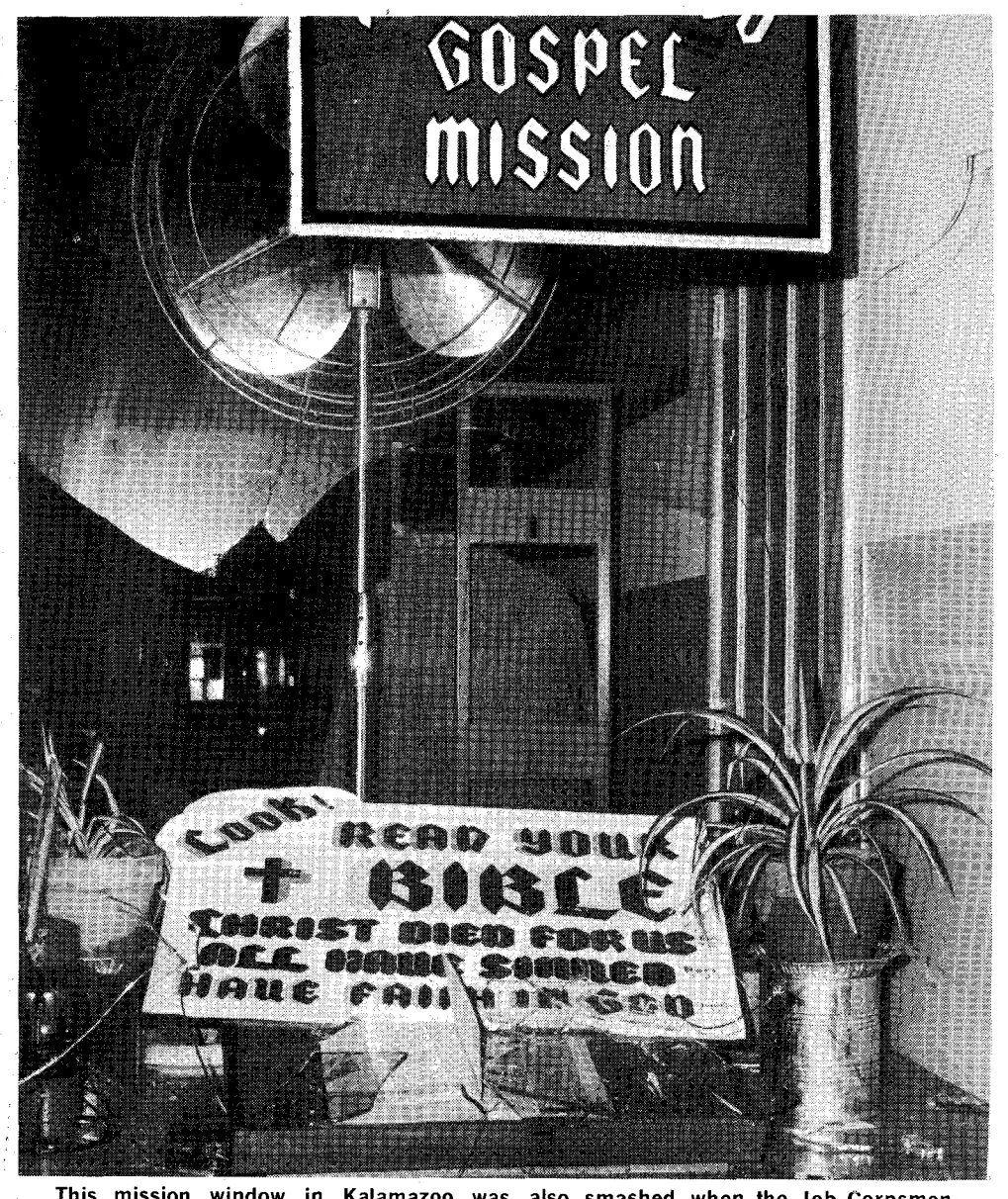
'Country Club' Evicted

• St. Petersburg, Fla.—City officials, charging that the local Women's Job Corps camp was being run like a country club, demanded that it be closed. After numerous disturbances involving loose morality, begging for money and drunkenness, the center was ordered to move to another location.

• Cleveland, Ohio—Four girls had to be expelled and a fifth was arrested on a marijuana charge.

•Excelsior Springs, Mo.—Women's Job Corps director Mrs. Grace Phillips was ordered to appear in municipal court to face charges brought against her by a group of local citizens. The charge: maintaining a nuisance. Residents complained of corps student promiscuity in their wards, drunkenness, soliciting on the street at night, loud noise, and lack of observance of curfew hours. Excelsior Springs' police had previously received complaints about the students' immorality and bad language and had jailed several for drunkenness.

Similar incidents—involving smuggling, shoplifting, pregnant girls being sent home, etc.—have occurred at Women's Job Corps centers in Los Angeles, Denver and Omaha.



This mission window in Kalamazoo was also smashed when the Job Corpsmen rioted. The mob broke into 20 stores in the city and looted some. More than 100 law enforcement officials were called in to quell the riot.

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It's No Accident

OEO Hires Ex-Convicts to Counsel Youths

Nothing could possibly explain away or justify the dozens of riots and obvious lack of discipline that has kept Job Corps camps and other anti-poverty centers in the headlines from the outset of the "War on Poverty."

Certainly one of the major causes has been the near-total absence of effective screening of trainees assigned to the camps and their coddling once enrolled there.

But if almost no attempt has been made to weed out tough, violence-prone juvenile delinquents with serious criminal records who are sent to these camps to be reformed, neither has there been much effort to screen out criminal types in the hiring of youth counselors and supervisors paid by the OEO to do the job of reforming.

In fact, as several recent news accounts have made clear, anti-poverty officials not only have permitted hardened criminals to be placed on the payroll as counselors and advisers to young trainees in the program: they have in some cases done so deliberately.

Poor Judgment

Several months ago, Sen. Milward Simpson (R.-Wyo.) demanded an explanation for one of the most serious and incredible cases of poor judgement and cover-up to date in the "War on Poverty." It involved a supervisor at the Casper, Wyo., Job Corps Center, Lee Palmer Banks, who had been hired in spite of a 17-count arrest record, dating back to 1954, which included, among other things, rape, assault and battery and larceny.

Banks was hired by the Bureau of Reclamation, which runs the Casper center, in October 1965—less than a year after being arrested in Des Moines. Two months later, Banks—who is 6' 4" and weighs 320 pounds—was arrested and charged with aggravated assault in the savage beating of a Casper businessman.

Following this arrest, which occurred while he was on the poverty payroll, Banks' prior criminal record came to light. OEO and Civil Service officials deny that they knew about the record before Banks was hired, though the Civil Service Commission acknowledged that it was aware of the record a month before Banks assaulted the businessman, but hadn't passed the word along to the Bureau of Reclamation until three weeks after the assault.

When Banks applied for the job, he had acknowledged on his application one prior arrest and conviction—a 16-month penitentiary sentence for attempting to obtain narcotics by fraud and deceit. Apparently OEO officials didn't think this should disqualify him for a job supervising underprivileged youths, nor did it lead them to investigate the possibility of a longer criminal record before hiring Banks.

In any event, by falsifying this application, Banks subjected himself to prosecution under a federal law providing for a maximum penalty of a $10,000 fine and five years' imprisonment. But OEO decided to let him off scot-free. A month after his latest arrest and three months after his criminal record had come to light, Banks was permitted to resign.

When Sen. Simpson asked the Civil Service Commission to explain why no effort had been made to prosecute Banks, he was told that Banks was no longer a government employe and that a report of Banks' false statements had not been sent to the Department of Justice, because "persons who are separated and no longer federal employes are very rarely prosecuted."

The explanation astonished Simpson. Application of the principle, he said, would necessitate "that an embezzler could not be prosecuted if he quit his job after the crime."

Even Bobby Kennedy was astounded. Of the excuse that Banks had not been prosecuted because he was no longer a government employe, Kennedy remarked: "I never heard that explanation given on any other matter when I was attorney general," adding, "On the face of it, it would appear to be a matter that should by all means be presented to a grand jury."

Widespread Problems

The Banks case is by no means unique.

Among the first 16 group leaders hired under Philadelphia's poverty program to work with youngsters in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, 13 had arrest records which included larceny, assault and battery and – incredibly, considering the assignment – morals counts involving minors.

In Colorado Springs, according to a *Time* magazine report last November, five members of the city's anti-poverty governing board had police records. Included in the offenses: sodomy, operation of a disorderly house, escape from a mental institution, burglary and suspected assault with intent to commit murder.

One of Chicago's anti-poverty leaders, who acted as a "spokesman" for the Windy City's poor at the riotous Washington meeting of Walter Reuther's "Citizens Crusade Against Poverty" in April, has a long police record as a dope peddler. According to reports, he has been arrested by Chicago police 19 times.

A staff member of the United Planning Organization, which runs the local anti-poverty war in the Nation's Capital, was recently arrested for sodomy. According to police, he assaulted a 26-year-old woman who had come to the UPO office looking for a job. The man had a prior police record and was on parole for robbery when he was arrested on the sodomy charge.

This was not by any means the first time that UPO—often described as a "model" agency for the "War on Poverty," since it can be closely supervised by Washington officials and is frequently used as an experimental center for new projects before they are launched on a nationwide scale—has made headlines for employing ex-convicts.

Three More Cases

In April, Rep. William H. Ayres (R.-Ohio) charged that UPO was "riddled with employes with long records of serious crime." He cited three examples:

- An Army deserter whose police record includes soliciting for prostitution, grand larceny, forgery, false pretenses and being a fugitive from justice—hired as a community program worker, a job which included counseling juveniles.
- A Neighborhood Youth Corps counselor whose record, dating back to 1952, has 11 entries including larceny, false pretenses and passing worthless checks. Last October, while still on the UPO payroll, he was charged again with passing a worthless check.
- A man employed in the Neighborhood Development program whose record began with juvenile delinquency and progressed to more serious things, including a sex crime, housebreaking, larceny and bail violation.

Rep. William Ayres (R.-Ohio) exposed the Washington, D.C., poverty group as "riddled with employes with long records of serious crime."

These three, said Ayres, were merely examples of numerous similar cases on file. Officials in the Washington program later admitted, in fact, that *at least* 40 of UPO's employes had criminal records. And of these only four had been fired because of new crimes committed after they were hired and on the agency's payroll.

The hiring of so many ex-convicts at UPO and other anti-poverty agencies can hardly be termed an accident.

Fingerprinting of job applicants and a superficial police records check would turn up enough evidence to permit exclusion of hardened criminals with long records, at least—*if anti-poverty officials* were willing to make the effort.

A Deliberate Policy?

Ayres thinks the hiring of ex-cons may very well be deliberate. And public statements by at least two high officials in the "War on Poverty" back him up.

James Banks, director of UPO, has defended the hiring of criminals in the program because, he says, a large proportion of poor people have police records. James Kelleher, deputy director of public affairs for OEO, adds: "It might be shocking to some people, but it's a plain fact that the tough youths will respect the former criminal."

Respect for criminals was not what Congress had in mind when it launched the "War on Poverty."

While ex-convicts can in some cases be good employes and need the help of society if they are to be rehabilitated, it simply doesn't make sense to turn habitual criminals and sex perverts loose to work with and set examples for young people.

Following a rash of adverse publicity, Sargent Shriver's office issued a new directive prohibiting the employment of persons with convictions "involving moral turpitude" by anti-poverty agencies. The directive is not being enforced and in any case does not apply to some 20,000 workers already on the anti-poverty payroll.

And, according to Ayers, the problem of ex-convicts presently on the anti-poverty payroll is "not just a local problem [in the Washington headquarters of UPO]. It is a serious national problem" which amounts to a "shocking situation" involving "employes, paid from federal funds, who are scattered through hundreds of American communities."

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